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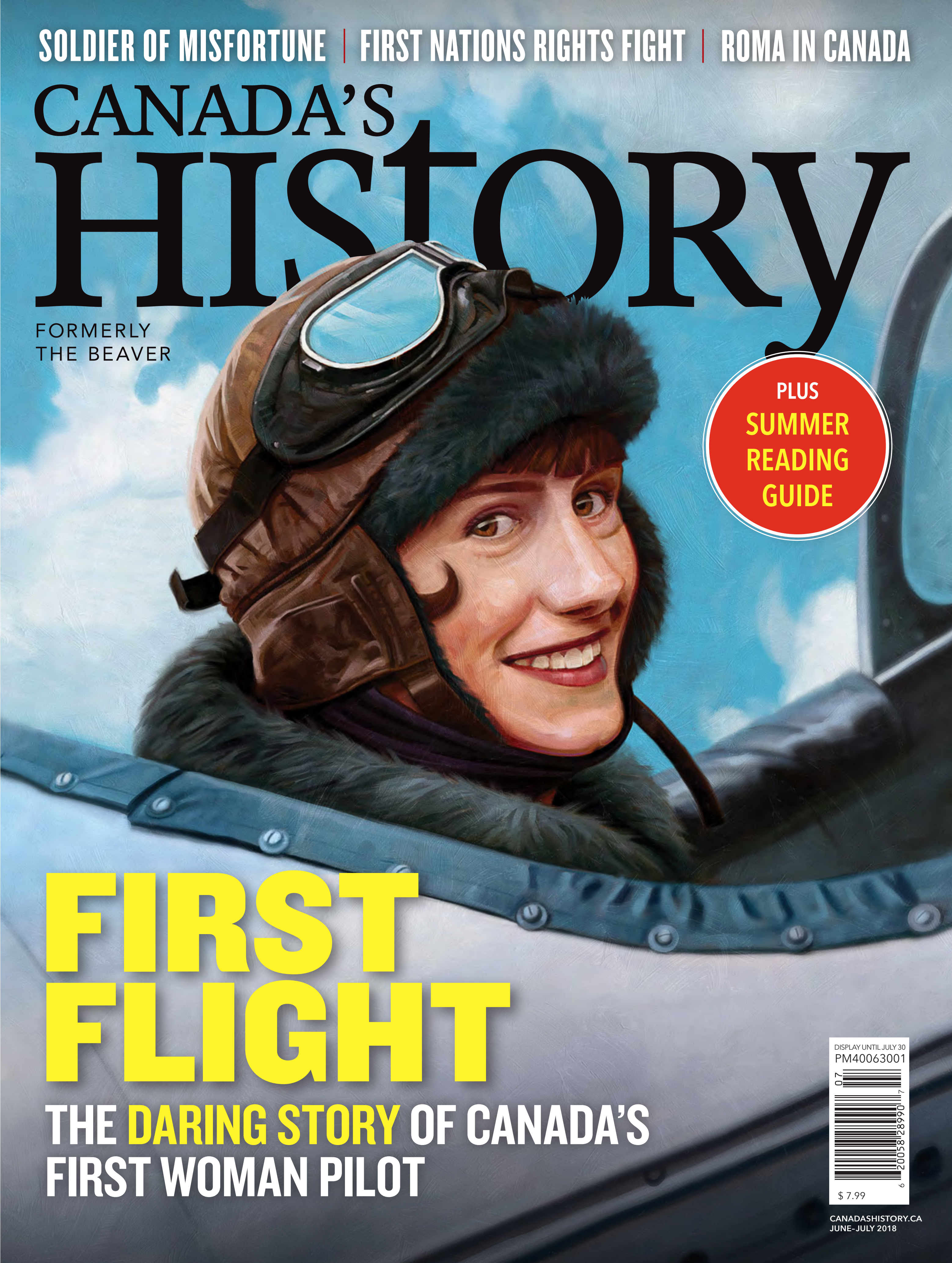

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CANADA'S
HISTORY
FIRST FLIGHT
THE DARING STORY OF CANADA'S FIRST WOMAN PILOT

On the cover

Pilot Eileen Vollick in the cockpit of the Curtiss JN-4 she flew for the Jack Elliott Air Service in Hamilton. Illustration by Robert Carter.

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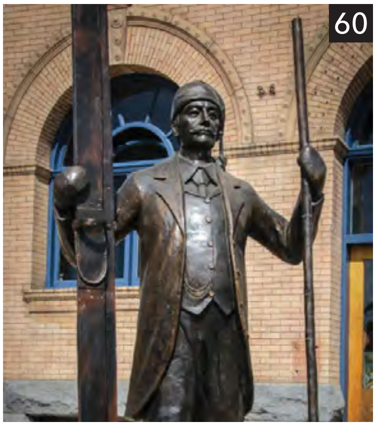

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Winging it

From the ancient Greeks, who told stories of Icarus flying too close to the sun, to the Maori of New Zealand, who flew kites as part of religious ceremonies, humans have long dreamed of touching the heavens.

In the fifteenth century, inventor Leonardo da Vinci began studying the locomotion of birds and bats in an effort to divine the secret of flight. Applying his knowledge, he designed several flying contraptions. Some featured flapping wings, while others employed rotors similar to today's helicopters. Da Vinci's imagination was boundless, but he was limited by the materials of his era — he was unable to build a flying machine light enough to stay aloft.

Human flight remained elusive until two centuries later, when a pair of French brothers launched a hot-air balloon to the amazement of crowds in Paris. That 1783 flight fired the imaginations of would be aviators everywhere, and by the early 1800s, a British inventor, Sir George Cayley, had debuted the first working glider. Cayley also discovered the four aerodynamic forces that control flight — weight, lift, drag, and thrust — and is today considered the father of aeronautics.

Another century would pass before the first powered flight. In 1903, the Wright brothers successfully conducted the first powered flight of a heavier-than-air vehicle. Six years later, in February 1909, a team led by inventor Alexander Graham Bell conducted the first powered flight in Canada, piloting the *Silver Dart* a distance of eight hundred metres.

Since then, the pace of aeronautic advancement has been staggering. For instance, my grandfather Peter was born five months after the *Silver Dart*'s inaugural flight. By the time I was born, in 1971, humans had already walked on the moon.

The history of flight is filled with many milestones, as well as plenty of groundbreaking pilots. In this issue, we bring you the story of an Ontario teenager who defied social norms in the 1920s to become the first Canadian woman to earn a pilot's licence. By earning her wings, Eileen Vollick inspired countless women pilots who followed in her draft.

Elsewhere in this issue, we explore the challenges faced by Romani emigrants to Canada, we recall the adventures of an Irish-Canadian hero of the Cuban Revolution, and we discover how the term "First Nations" came to prominence as part of the Indigenous sovereignty movement of the 1980s.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Marilyn Dickson, who wrote "Unacquainted With Fear," is a flight instructor and member of the Ninety-Nines, an international organization of women pilots. As a young pilot, Dickson wanted to read about the experiences of other Canadian women pilots, but found few stories on the topic. Today, she regularly speaks at conferences and writes about the important roles Canadian women pilots have played in aviation history.

Peter Blow, who wrote "Soldier of Misfortune" is an award-winning filmmaker. His films include *Village of Widows*, winner of the Humanitarian Award at the 2000 Hot Docs festival, and, most recently, the documentary *Last Beer at the Pig's Ear*. He has written a screenplay about W.A.C. Ryan, the subject of his article. He wishes to acknowledge the research contribution made by Cuban-Canadian artist Harry Tanner.

Ray Argyle, the author of "Naming and Claiming," is a journalist, biographer, and novelist who writes often for *Canada's History*. His Canadian historical novel, *An Act of Injustice*,was published in 2017. He is working on a book about his travels to the sites where Vincent van Gogh lived and worked. Argyle lives in Kingston, Ontario.

Cynthia Levine-Rasky, who wrote "Determined Nation," is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology at Queen's University. Her book *Writing the Roma* (Fernwood, 2016) is based on four years of ethnographic research with the Toronto Roma Community Centre. With Hedina Tahirović-Sijerčić, she is also co-editor of *A Romani Women's Anthology: Spectrum of the Blue Water* (Inanna, 2017). She acknowledges the research assistance of Ronald Lee, Micheal T. Butch, Judith Levine, Jo-Ellen Brydon, and Laura Carter.

PHOTO TOP LEFT: ANDREW WORKMAN

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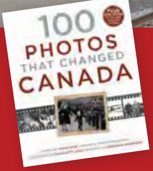
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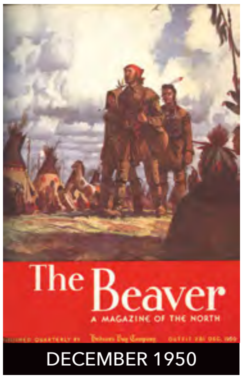
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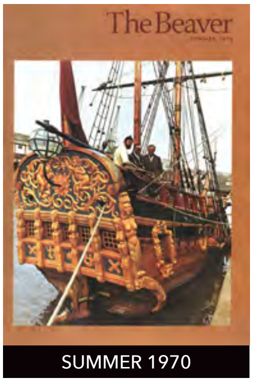

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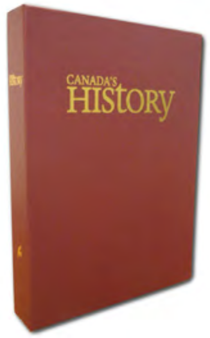
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CANADA'S HISTORY

Relics need further study

The February-March 2018 edition of *Canada's History* printed a feature titled "Finding Vinland," which included a sidebar on an alleged hoax involving Viking relics found in northern Ontario on May 24, 1931. What is offensive to me, and to many other historians, is the bold employment of the term "hoax."

I have been researching and writing about these relics since 1990, when I conducted a series of field searches to rediscover the site where James Edward Dodd claimed he had recovered them. In 1966, Douglas Tushingham, head of art and archaeology at the Royal Ontario Museum, pulled together all known facts about the relics and published a booklet titled *The Beardmore Relics: Hoax or History?* Tushingham concluded the booklet by writing, "opinion leans towards the view that their 'discovery' was a hoax." He called for more evidence.

The discovery site needs a thorough excavation by a professional archaeologist. No one needs scavengers rooting around Dodd's discovery site. Until such a dig is commissioned, I keep the location a secret.

Edgar Lavoie
Geraldton, Ontario

April follies

You really had me going after reading about the Spring 1971 edition of *The Beaver* (From the Archives, April-May 2018). The story of a contingent of Buddhist nuns coming to Ile-a-la-Crosse in 1791 and travelling with Alexander Mackenzie had me very puzzled — so much so that I delved into your archives to find that edition and read the story. I guess *The Beaver* indulged in April Fool's jokes in 1971 as well. Good one.

Connie Gerwing
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Editor's note: The story in question began with a preface from the editors, informing readers that the story was intended to be "an excursion into the realm of fantasy."

Vinland or Blueberryland?

Despite the comprehensive article by Birgitta Wallace ("Finding Vinland," February-March 2018), she has not shown conclusively that she has found the mythical Vinland.

For two hundred years, various claims of Vinland being found have circulated. Every professor of mine has always said to go back to the primary sources to research a story.

I believe no one for over one thousand years has dared to challenge the concept written in the sagas that what the Vikings saw growing in "Vinland" were not grapes, but blueberries.

Common sense would show that they were men from Greenland and Iceland and that they never, ever saw a grapevine in their lives. And if you have travelled in Newfoundland you would know that a very delicious wine can be made from blueberries, so it is not too far out of the realm of possibilities.

Vinland will be found, and it will be in Newfoundland!

Robert Burcher
Clarksburg, Ontario

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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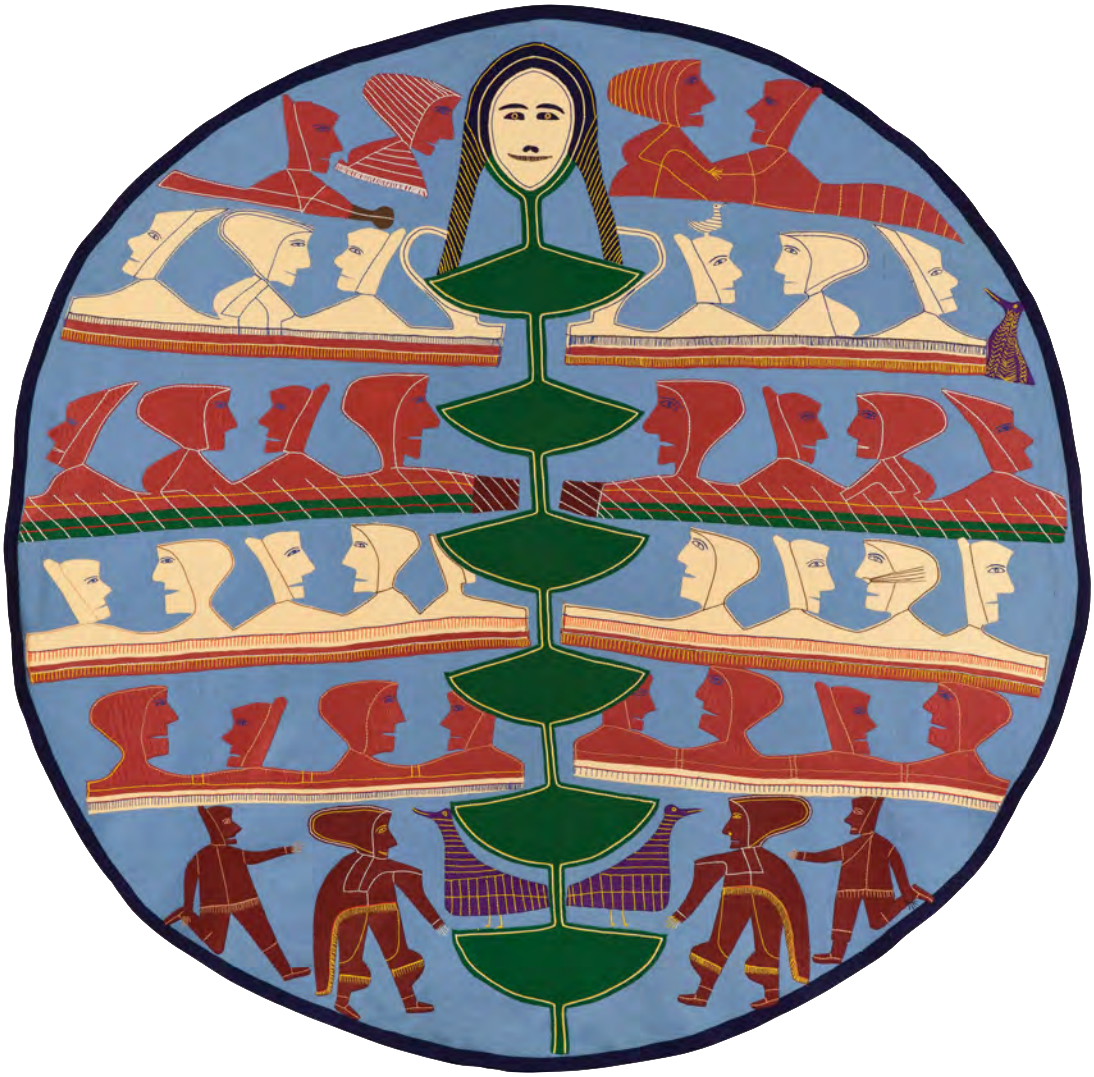

Neevingatah (meaning "something to hang" in Inuktitut) is an art form unique to Canada that emerged in the 1950s with the Arctic Co-op movement. The neevingatah wall hangings typically feature felt appliquéd pictures. This piece, titled, *Young Woman, Ulus, Birds and Figures*, by Jessie Oonark of Baker Lake, Nunavut, was created in 1973.

COURTESY WALKER'S AUCTIONS, OTTAWA; PHOTO BY DIETER HESSEL

CREATIVE CLASS

Heartfelt history

An ancient fabric, felt was a lucrative end-product of the North American fur trade. But its uses go far beyond beaver hats.

Felt is an ancient material that helped propel the economy of the New World thanks to its popularity during the early fur trade.

Now, an online exhibition is exploring the history of this versatile material. Beaver Hats to Hockey Pads, presented by Kathryn Walter of FELT studio in Toronto, looks at the many historical and cultural uses of felt.

Felt is created by pressing animal fibres until they latch together, and is the oldest known textile.

During the fur trade era, felt from beaver furs was especially prized by hatters thanks to its lustrous qualities. Since the nineteenth century, felt has largely been manufactured from wool. And more recently, felters have utilized synthetic materials such as rayon and acrylic.

Thanks to its elasticity and absorbency, felt became an important engineering material as countries embraced industrialization. It also remains a popular material in art and design. Explore the online exhibition at FeltStudio.com.

Felt hats made from furs were popular in Europe from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. This cavalier-style beaver hat is a fine example of felt craftsmanship.

Algonquin Park
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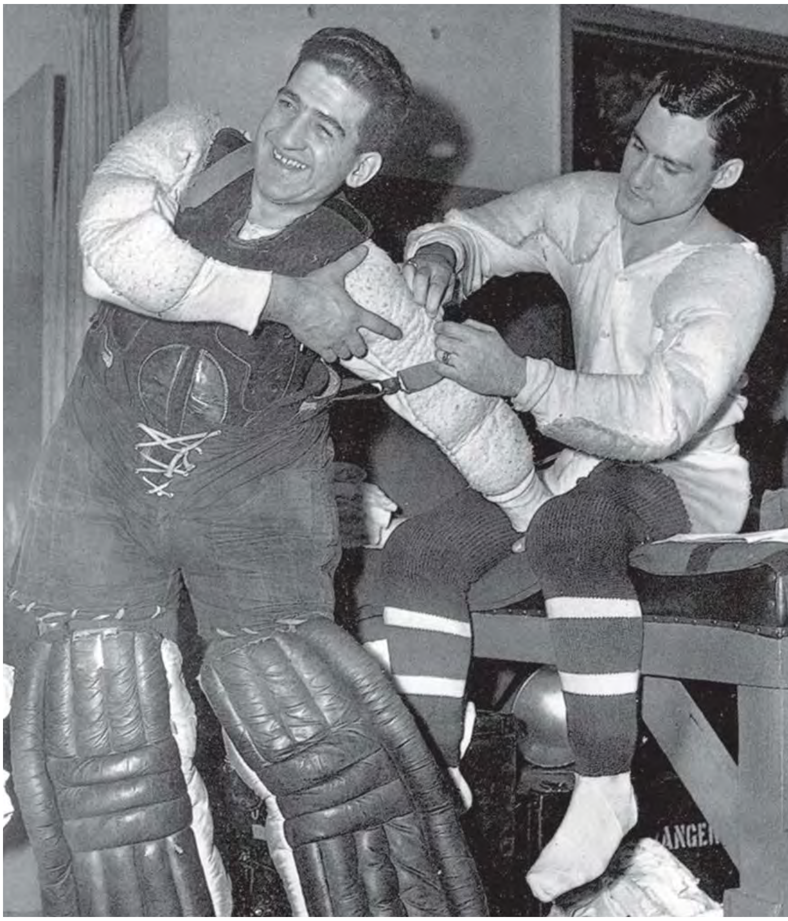
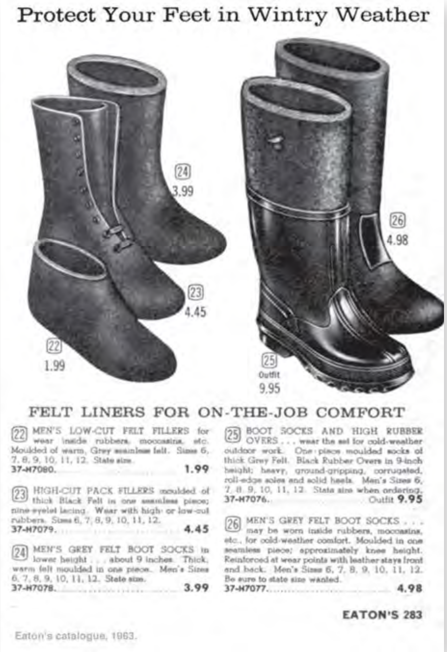
Hull, Que.
Canada
Gander Airport Newfoundland

A selection of felt pennants.



In the early days of hockey, equipment was largely homemade. Some players, inspired by felt-padded horse collars seen in harness shops, sewed felt into their undergarments for protection against pucks. By the 1920s, felt had become a common component of hockey equipment in chest pads, shoulder pads, shin guards, and knee pads.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37-H7077. 4.98

EATON'S 283

Eaton's catalogue, 1963.

An Eaton's boot ad from 1963 extols the benefits of felt.

Felt has properties of high permeability and is found in many forms of filters. Felt determines the tone and texture of maple syrup by filtering out the sugar sand to achieve the desired consistency.

Felt does not fray and so can be die-cut for machine parts. Felt production peaked during the Second World War, when it was used in the manufacture of armaments and ammunitions, including as wadding for shells.

TOP LEFT: ALAMY, LEFT CENTRE: KATHRYN WALTER, BOTTOM LEFT: EATON'S CATALOGUE 1963,
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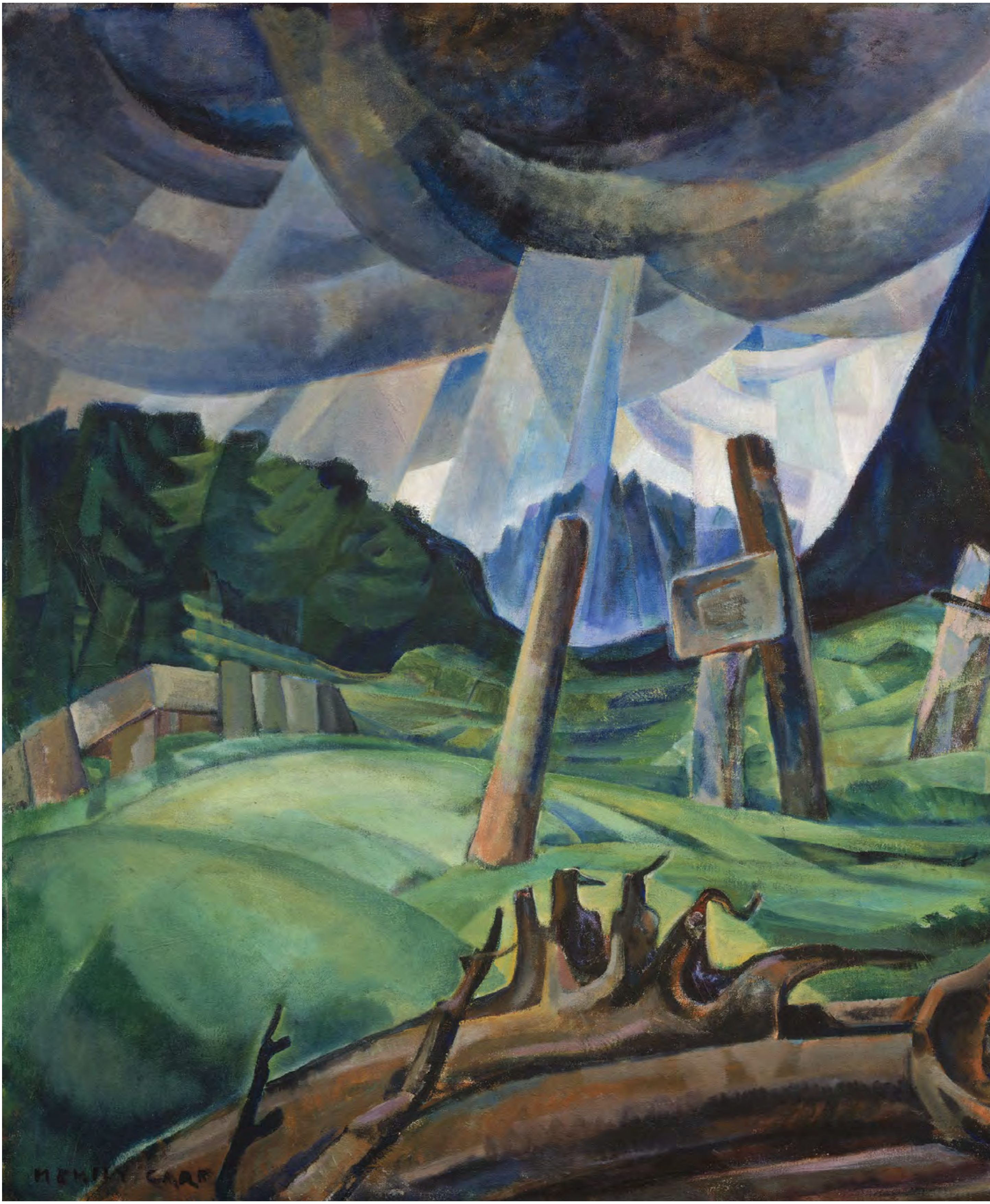
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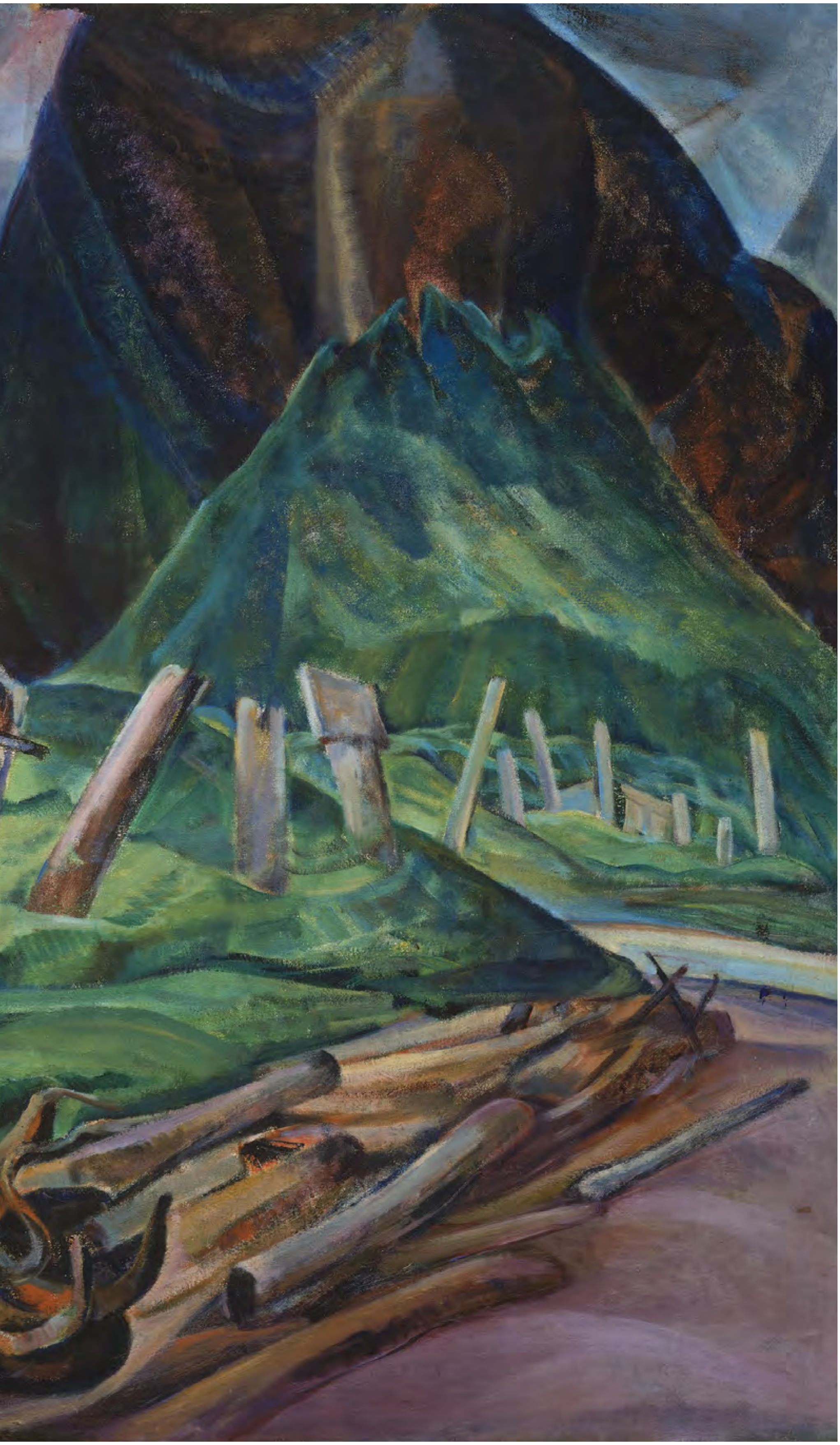


BRUSH STROKES

Vanquished

1930, Emily Carr, oil on canvas, 92 cm x 129 cm

Emily Carr's *Vanquished* was painted in 1930 as she moved into the phase of her career that produced her best-known works and gained her reputation as an iconic British Columbia artist.

As early as a 1907 trip up the coast to Alaska, the Victoria-based artist was captivated by Indigenous communities and their totemic art in the face of what she believed would be their imminent demise — a view that was commonplace at the time and that may have seemed justified by circumstances that included the potlatch ban and encroachment on traditional lands.

In 1913, the year after a sketching trip during which she visited communities along the Nass and Skeena rivers, as well as Alert Bay and Haida Gwaii, Carr arranged a Vancouver exhibition of some two hundred works. But, finding little interest from either potential patrons or the provincial government, which she had hoped would want the works documenting First Nations art and life, Carr returned to Victoria and mostly stopped painting.

When a 1927 exhibition in Ottawa included many of her earlier works, giving her the chance to meet and befriend Group of Seven members such as Lawren Harris, Carr was reinvigorated. Her attention to landscape and her training in modern techniques led Harris to tell her, "You are one of us."

Vanquished mourns an abandoned Haida Gwaii community and, like many other paintings Carr made over the following decade, expresses the vibrancy and dynamism of the British Columbia landscape itself. — *Phil Koch*

COLLECTION OF THE VANCOUVER ART GALLERY, EMILY CARR TRUST, VAG 42.3.6. PHOTO: TREVOR MILLS, VANCOUVER ART GALLERY

Left: A diorama depicts the life of Nuvumiutaq, an Inuk hunter whose centuries-old remains and belongings were recovered by archeologists. Below: a fourteenth-century Inuk carving of a Norseman was found on Baffin Island.

NEWS

Making history

New Canadian History Hall offers thought-provoking look at the past. *by Alison Nagy*

It has been nearly a year since the grand opening of the revamped Canadian History Hall at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Quebec. *Canada's History* recently sat down with Mark O'Neil, the director and CEO of the museum, to talk about the hall's creation, its reception, and its significance both today and into the future.

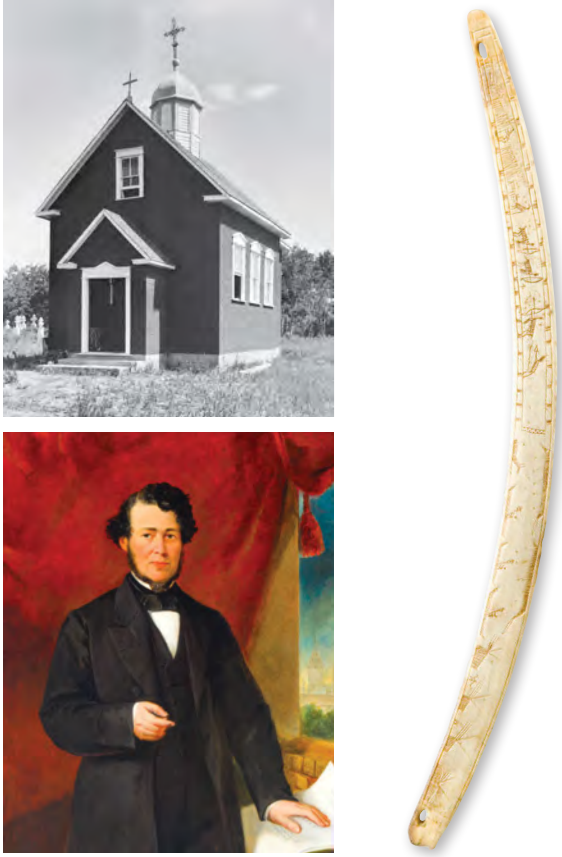
Canadian History Hall opened on July 1, 2017, during Canada's sesquicentennial. The 3,700-square-metre exhibition space features three galleries that highlight eighteen chapters of Canadian history. The vision for the hall, O'Neil said, was to tell "as inclusively and comprehensively the entire history of Canada, Canadians, and the land that we share — from time immemorial to the present day."

Douglas Cardinal, the architect who designed the Canadian Museum of Civilization that became the Canadian Museum of History, also designed the new history hall. Drawing inspiration from the Ottawa River, which flows past the museum, Cardinal's design invites visitors to begin their journeys at the "Hub," which he describes as "the Great Kettle" where, on the floor, a satellite image of Canada is displayed. A ramp leading to the hall's second level is meant to represent the nearby Chaudière Falls, a spot considered sacred to Indigenous peoples of the Ottawa region.

The new hall replaced the Canada Hall, which was built in the 1970s. The former hall offered a very traditional and Eurocentric vision of Canadian history; it focused on patterns of settlement, from the first landfalls of Vikings in Vinland, to the arrival of the French and the British, to the colonization of the West. Indigenous stories were pushed to the margins of the exhibition.

The Canadian History Hall seeks to redress this oversight by beginning its journey in time immemorial with an Anishinaabe creation story as well as by acknowledging the traditional Algonquin territory on which the museum was built. "Canada has a rich, complex, and multi-layered history that must be understood through a variety of narratives and

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY



Canadian History Hall houses many artifacts, including, clockwise from top left, the St. Onuphrius Church built in Smoky Lake, Alberta; a reproduction of Nuvumiutaq's bow drill; and a portrait of MP Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who was assasinated on April 7, 1868, that was painted by Frederic Malett Bell-Smith circa 1868.

lenses," explained O'Neil. He says including multiple voices and interpretations is crucial to understanding Canada's shared past.

The museum engaged in extensive public consultations and collaborated with professional historians and other stakeholders as it worked to select the stories that would be highlighted in the hall. More than twenty-four thousand Canadians participated in online discussions, and in-person town hall meetings to help to create a vision for the hall.

O'Neil said some common messages emerged: "Integrate Indigenous history, be authentic, tell the truth, share Canadian history, warts and all, do not shy away from the controversies, [and] don't talk just about the great men in history."

This new hall invites visitors to cast a critical eye on the past — to ask questions, challenge materials and narratives, and engage in "important and frank discussions about their history." O'Neil hopes visitors to Canadian History Hall will feel that "history is unfurling, history is all around you, and you are a part of it." He also hopes that the hall will serve as a space for constructive and difficult conversations as it continues to evolve to meet the needs of Canadians.

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY; DIANNE BOS

***Trench*, Beaumont Hamel, by Dianne Bos.**

NEWS

Conflicting views

Exhibition places First World War under a lens.

In 2014, Canadian artist Dianne Bos visited a First World War battle site near Ypres, Belgium, where she accidentally slipped down the embankment of a pond that is today known as the Caterpillar Crater.

The crater was created in 1917 when the Allies detonated thirty thousand kilograms of explosives beneath German positions during the Battle of Messines. Bos says that as she recovered from her minor spill, she was "engulfed by a paralyzing sadness" as she recalled the injuries and deaths from a century ago.

For her exhibition The Sleeping Green: No Man's Land 100 Years Later, organized by the Lethbridge Art Gallery and touring to the Hamilton Art Gallery this spring, Bos travelled to battle sites along the Western Front where Canadian and Newfoundland regiments played a key role.

Using handmade pinhole cameras, she photographed the trenches, craters, plant life, skies, and memorials that stand on these sites today. She was struck by how much the land has healed while still bearing the scars of history. Bos asks, "Does an echo of war still resonate?"

Bos's pinhole photographs use extended exposures to create what she calls "still images of a passage of time." The photos are accompanied by original editions of poetry and prose books — selected by University of Calgary English professor Harry Vandervlist — that were published during the Great War. — *Melony Ward*

Dianne Bos's exhibition The Sleeping Green: No Man's Land 100 Years Later, curated by Josephine Mills, runs until September 23, 2018, at the Art Gallery of Hamilton.

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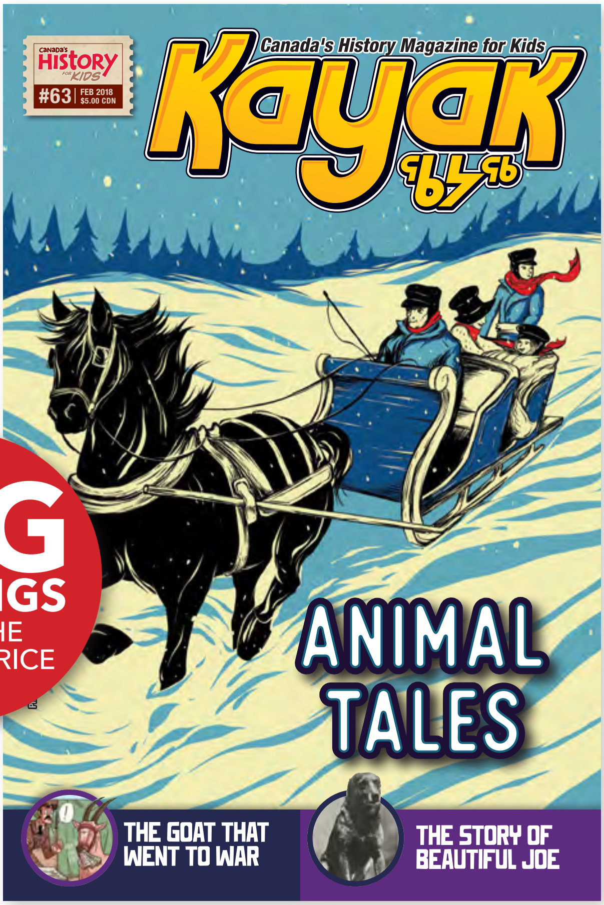
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COMMUNITIES

Clockwise from top left: Suffragists in Winnipeg pose with petitions demanding the vote for women, circa 1914; Bashir Khan reads a speech at a war cenotaph in Winnipeg; A crowd listens intently during one of Khan's presentations on Canadian history.

Connecting with Canada

Community project helps newcomers to Canada understand their adopted country.

by Marianne Helm

When Bashir Khan emigrated from Pakistan to Canada, the then eleven-year-old wanted to learn everything he could about his new home. "I wanted to learn for myself why Canada is the best country in the world — what events and personalities of the past have made the Canada of today what it is: a multicultural, tolerant, secular society with individual and group rights for all," he said.

Khan discovered that Canada — even though it was a relatively young country — had an interesting and rich history. As an adult, he decided to help other newcomers learn Canada's history.

In 2015 — during the bicentennial of the birth of Sir John A. Macdonald — Khan, now a Winnipeg immigration lawyer, began to develop an education outreach project for recent immigrants and refugees in Manitoba. Since then, with the help of volunteers and community organizations, Khan has held several free history-themed educational events.

"The purpose of the project was for participants to feel proud of the myriad achievements of this great country," said Khan. "There is a genuine interest in the hearts of newly arrived people in Canada [to learn] about this country."

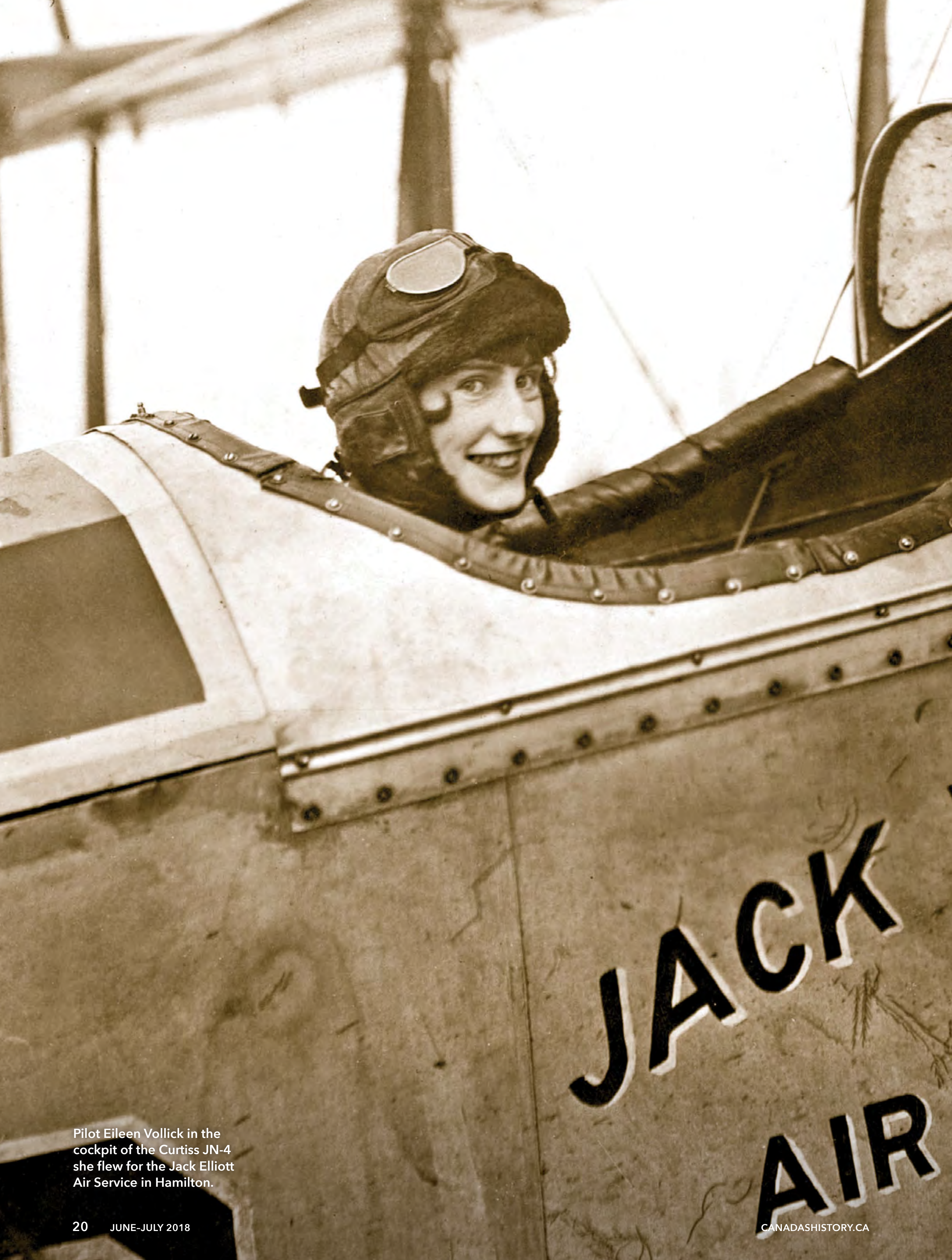
Refugees, immigrants, and newcomers from a host of countries, including Burundi, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Ethiopea, Albania, Afghanistan, Burma, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India, Ghana, and Nigeria, have attended his events. Topics have included an exploration of the significance of the Battle of Vimy Ridge; a discussion of the life and achievements of Governor General Vincent Massey; and a look at the many struggles women had to overcome to win the vote in Manitoba in 1916. Khan has also invited local military veterans to share their experiences with newcomers.

Some events saw as many as ninety people in attendance, and all attendees "developed a greater sense of appreciation" for the history of their new home, Khan said.

One participant told him the events helped her to pass the Canadian citizenship exam, because she came away from them with a fuller understanding of key Canadian events and milestones.

Thanks to his efforts, Khan was nominated as a 2017 finalist for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming. He plans to continue holding history events. "The memory of past glories and achievements of Canada would simply pass away … if we do not actively make the effort to remember them," he added.

ABOVE LEFT: ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA, OTHER PHOTOS COURTESY OF BASHIR KHAN



Pilot Eileen Vollick in the cockpit of the Curtiss JN-4 she flew for the Jack Elliott Air Service in Hamilton.

V. ELLIO
SERVICE
TON

COURTESY OF PAMELA MCLAUGHLIN

UNACQUAINTED WITH FEAR

HOW EILEEN VOLLICK BECAME THE FIRST CANADIAN WOMAN TO EARN A PILOT'S LICENCE.

BY MARILYN DICKSON

As Eileen Vollick soared into the sky for her first ride in an airplane, she didn't care that she was subjected to something of an aerobatics routine. "The pilot who took me aloft thought he would either frighten me or find out how much courage I possessed. It is against the rules to stunt, to do spins, loops or zooms. I got mine for half an hour."

Whatever the pilot's motives — Vollick even suggested that the instructor might have been testing her tolerance for flying at unusual angles — she didn't take the experience personally. In fact, she found the stunts thrilling.

"My first flight was an epoch of my life never to be forgotten," she wrote in a June 1928 article for *Canadian Air Review*. "No matter what I may achieve in the future, the exhilaration of that flight will linger when all others are merely an event."

That memorable first flight took place on June 9, 1927, shortly before Vollick's nineteenth birthday. Although she was comfortable in the cockpit, she described feeling overwhelmed by the view as she climbed skyward. "I saw the earth recede as the winged monster roared and soared skyward. Familiar scenes below became a vast panorama of checker-boarded fields, neatly arranged toy houses, and silvery threads of streams. The pure joy of it, gave me a thrill which is known only to the air-man who wings his way among the fleecy clouds."

As the title of that magazine article makes clear, Vollick's ultimate achievement helped to open the skies to other women: "How I Became Canada's First Licensed Woman Pilot." A little more than ninety years ago, on March 13, 1928, she earned the seventy-seventh pilot's licence issued in Canada, which was the first earned by a woman.

When Mary Eileen Vane Riley was born on August 2, 1908, no Canadian had yet flown. The first powered flight in Canada took place a few months later on February 23, 1909, near Baddeck, Nova Scotia, when Jack McCurdy flew the *Silver Dart*, built by a team led by Alexander Graham Bell.

With the onset of the First World War, flying opportunities for Canadian men came through the military, which retained control of flight training and licensing for nearly a decade after the war. Women were not allowed in the military, so they had no access to aviation in Canada.

Born in Wiarton, Ontario, Riley was the third daughter of Marie and James Riley. Eileen never knew her father, who was killed in a mining accident in northern Ontario near the time of her birth. Thrust into single parenthood, Marie undertook various jobs, including sewing and writing. Her daughter Audrey recalls that Marie even wrote children's books using a *nom de plume*.

Three years after James' death, Marie married a marine engineer named George Vollick and moved with her daughters to Hamilton. She and George subsequently had two daughters and a son, and all six children went by the name Vollick. George was often away on oil tankers for long periods of time, so Marie was largely responsible for raising the children. A strong woman with an unconventional streak — a granddaughter remembers her as a live wire who wore unique hats — Marie supported Eileen in her desire to become a pilot.

After completing high school, Eileen Vollick became a textile analyst and assistant designer with the Hamilton Cotton Company. In 1927, from her home at Van Wagner's Beach just outside Hamilton, a fascinated Eileen watched the building of Jack Elliott's Air Service aerodrome at Ghent's Crossing, the first flying school in Canada where civilians could learn to fly. "From my window I could see the activities going on at the aerodrome, of making the runway, the building of hangars, and finally the installing of planes."

Observing the Curtiss JN-4 biplane's early flights from her apartment window, Eileen became obsessed with a desire to fly, even though the option wasn't open to her.

Men had become pilots as part of the Canadian effort for the First World War. As military pilots they didn't require pilot's licences. When the war ended, the Canadian military issued civilian licences to men who left the air force but wanted to continue flying. A few bought surplus warplanes and started their own companies hauling supplies and equipment and giving joyrides.

Other pilots remained in the Canadian Air Force, later renamed the Royal Canadian Air Force, exploring and mapping the Canadian North or spotting forest fires. These flights allowed military pilots to maintain their flying skills. With the military responsible for these duties, there was no apparent need for training civilian pilots.

During the 1920s, responsibility for civil aviation bounced between the Canadian Air Force and the Directorate of Civil Government Air Operations, until it stayed with the directorate (later Transport Canada) from 1927. The government initiated the development of flying clubs as part of a national training program, finally providing opportunities for civilians — civilian men, that is — to learn to fly.

Eileen was inspired to break in to the formerly male-only domain. "As I drove past the aerodrome a small still voice whispered, 'Go ahead, brave the lion in his den.' I proposed to learn to fly, and feared being turned down or laughed at."

Vollick wavered, wondering what was required to fly an airplane and how to approach Jack Elliott. "I have never been afraid to go after anything I wanted and to stay until I got it," she wrote, so "one day I ventured into the proprietor's den, and asked him, 'Can a girl learn to fly?'"

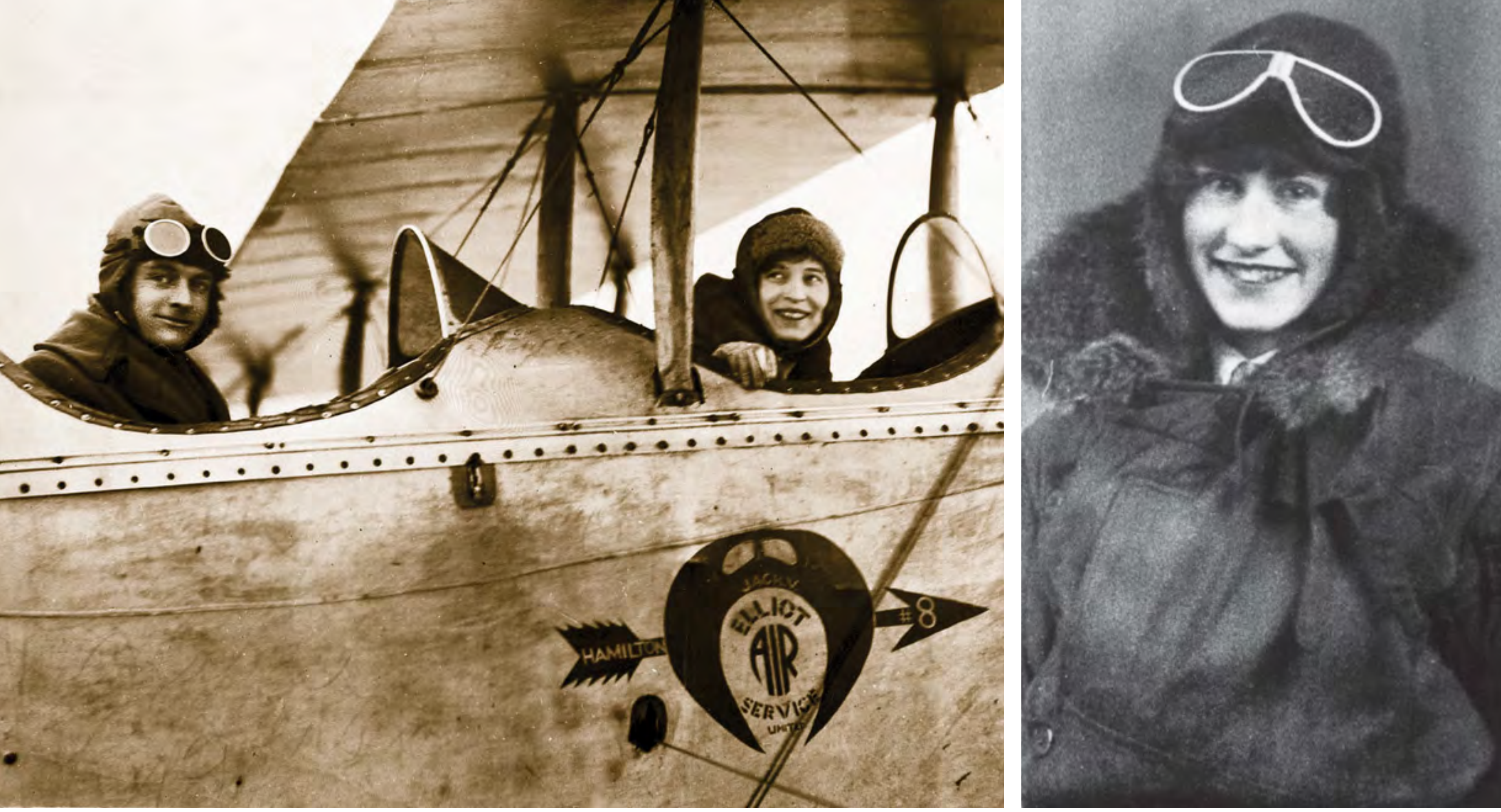
Elliott did not immediately accept Vollick as a student but suggested she write to the government with her request. Not only did she want to fly a plane, she wanted to work as a pilot, something that would require a commercial licence. With the military in the process of transferring responsibility for regulating flight training to civilian government officials, the rules were in transition.

In the letter from the Department of Defence — the missive was addressed to Mrs. Marie Vollick, who must have written on behalf of her eighteen-year-old daughter — the controller of civil aviation replied, "in future, certificates may be granted to pilots of either sex. It is necessary that a pilot should have reached the age of nineteen years before he may be granted a certificate to fly commercially."

CANADA'S FLYING FIRSTS

FIRST FLIGHT
On February 23, 1909, J.A.D. McCurdy first flew the *Silver Dart* at Baddeck, Nova Scotia.

1909


HAMILTON
JACKY ELLIOT AIR SERVICE LIMITED
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Left: Eileen M. Vollick with W. Fleming in a Jack Elliott Air Service airplane at Hamilton, Ontario, circa 1927–28. Right: Vollick in flight gear.

CANADA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MUSEUM, ROYAL AVIATION MUSEUM OF WESTERN CANADA

With permission granted, Vollick immediately began flying lessons. At five feet, one inch tall, she had to sit on cushions to reach the controls of the Curtiss JN-4 "Jenny" biplane. In June and July of 1927, Vollick made eleven flights totalling six hours and twenty minutes.

She quickly learned where to focus.

"The most important factors are 'taking off' and 'landing,'" she wrote in the *Canadian Air Review* article. "Anyone can fly straight and keep towards the horizon, but rising from the ground and returning, is a different matter. The most trying sensation of a flight comes when the plane glides rapidly earthward and one feels that familiar 'elevator' feeling. Even that sensitiveness passes after a few flights."

Vollick believed that "a flyer must never make acquaintance with 'fear' if he or she wants to become a successful pilot." Soon after her first few flights, she demonstrated her bravery with a feat that few other pilots would be prepared to repeat.

"As proof that my sense of fear is small, I took the parachute jump from the wing of the plane into the waters of Hamilton Bay, from an altitude of 2,800 feet [850 metres]. It takes a great deal of confidence to walk the wing of an airplane and jump into space, especially when the controls are in the hands of a strange pilot. But I felt no fear."

In a later interview, Eileen's sister Audrey recalled that as she and their mother were watching the parachute jump they realized that the boat that was supposed to pick up Vollick was not in position. Vollick released her parachute and then swam a considerable distance before the boat retrieved her. Audrey also remembered that Jack Elliott was not pleased to have lost a parachute.

Newspaper reports of Vollick's jump, and of her ambition to be the first woman pilot in the country and to fly across Canada, prompted some interesting letters. A Vancouver woman sought advice on behalf of her son who wanted to fly. A young Sudbury woman naively asked if Elliott's school paid Vollick a salary while she was learning to fly.

Vollick was offered a skydiving contract to do a daily jump at the Canadian National Exhibition, which she declined, noting, "Parachute work, however, was not my ambition. I wanted to fly." She thought she might work as a mail pilot one day.

Until then, flight continued to be exhilarating for Vollick, who soon tackled early morning flying as a key to becoming

FIRST WOMAN

On July 31, 1913, Alys McKey Bryant flew solo for sixteen minutes and made a flawless landing at Minoru Park in Vancouver.

▲ 1913

FIRST FATALITY

Johnny M. Bryant (husband of Alys McKey Bryant) died after crashing into a building in Victoria, on August 6, 1913.

▲ 1913

a success. "After several flights off the ice on Hamilton Bay, I made arrangements to fly as early as possible."

To accommodate these flights the mechanical crew fuelled the plane and warmed the engine so that it was ready when Eileen and her instructor arrived before sunrise. Eileen left her "cozy cot"and drove to Elliott's flying school. She donned a pair of George Vollick's coveralls, which her mother had restyled into a lined flying suit that didn't offer much warmth. Fortunately her wool-lined leather helmet and fur-lined goggles helped to break the wind that streamed through the open cockpit.

"With the tang of ice and frost upon pilot, plane and student, we rose from the hardened ground, winged our way over the icy bay, across the cold waters of Lake Ontario, and after 'landing' and 'rising' several times, we flew back to port, full of early morning pep, which the sluggard abed can never fully comprehend. Eight a.m. found me on my way to the Hamilton Cotton Co."

AFTER EARNING HER PILOT'S LICENCE, VOLLICK RECEIVED SEVERAL INVITATIONS TO GIVE SPEECHES OR TO PERFORM AEROBATIC DEMONSTRATIONS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

During a six-month break from flying lessons, Vollick attended ground school with thirty-four male students, whom she described as being polite and helpful. She made detailed notes on topics that are still covered in ground school classes today, such as engine design, operation, and theory of flight. No doubt the time away from flying allowed her to save money for more lessons, which she resumed again in February 1928. Because of the snow, she flew the Jenny on skis rather than wheels. At a cost of thirty dollars, she flew ten more hours, to prepare for her flight test and to complete other licence requirements.

On February 28, Vollick flew the required 175-mile (281-kilometre) cross-country flight with her instructor, Richard Turner. It was –5.3°C when they left Hamilton, and as they climbed the temperature dropped at a rate of two degrees per three hundred metres. Vollick hardly had time to get cold during training flights, which averaged half an hour, as she developed various skills for the flight test. But two and a half hours in the frigid air left her frozen as the breeze whipped around the windscreen and swirled around her in the open cockpit, rather like driving in a convertible with the top down at –10°C.

Such was her love of flying that Vollick even expressed enthusiasm for her pretest flight with the government examiner, even though he didn't fly with any of the male students to assess their abilities. Standards were indeed more rigorous for women pilots. "The day previous to the tests I had the extreme pleasure of taking Captain G.B. Holmes, Government Inspector, for a flight, and he gave me great credit for the able manner in which I handled the plane."

By the day of the flight test, the temperature had climbed to six degrees, providing a more pleasant environment in which to focus on the examiner's skill-testing assignments. To earn a licence, a student was required to land four times from a height of 1,500 feet (457 metres) within 150 feet (45 metres) of a spot marked by the examiner sitting in his car, and to land once from 5,000 feet (1,524 metres) with the motor shut off.

On March 13, 1928, with sixteen hours and twenty-five minutes of flying instruction, Eileen Vollick earned her pilot's licence. The *Hamilton Spectator* reported the successful flight tests by eleven of the thirty-five cadets from Jack Elliott's school, stating, "while she will continue to hold her present position in the office of the Hamilton Cotton Company, Miss Vollick intimates she intends to take up commercial aviation in the near future, but is undecided which branch to follow."

Sex role stereotyping was alive and well; the next day, the *Spectator* commented, "Wonder what the local girl who has received her aviation license would do if she discovered a mouse in her plane?" There were no similar comments about the ten male candidates who also passed the flight test. Neither did the *Spectator* report on the fact that the examiner had flown with Vollick the day before her flight test but had not required any of the male students to do likewise.

After earning her pilot's licence, Vollick received several invitations to give speeches or to perform aerobatic demonstrations in Canada and the United States. Family members recall Amelia Earhart inviting Vollick to join her in a goodwill flying tour. The tour didn't materialize, possibly because Earhart was invited to be a passenger on a transatlantic flight in June 1928.

While visiting her sister Gladys in March 1929, Vollick attended the dedication of Holmes Airport in New York City and met James Hopkin, a steamfitter. Six months later, they were married at St. Patrick's Church Rectory in Hamilton and moved to Elmhurst, New York. They had two daughters, Joyce and Eileen.

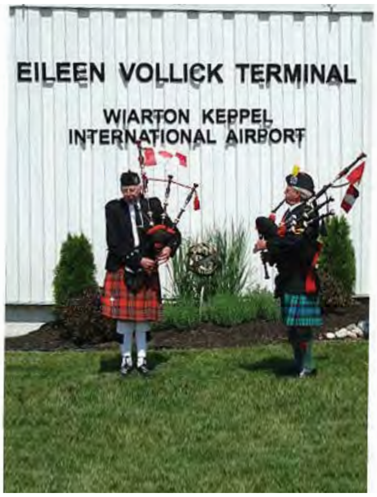
Following her marriage, Vollick gave up flying. At that time married women did not seek paid employment unless their

FIRST SCHOOL
Curtiss Aviation School in Toronto opened in 1915 and trained the first of Canada's First World War pilots.

1915

FIRST AIRMAIL
Royal Air Force Captain Brian Peck carried Canada's first airmail – 120 letters – from Montreal to Toronto on June 24, 1918.

1918



NO PLACE
for a Lady

Far left: The airport nearest Wiarton, Ontario, Eileen Vollick's birthplace, renamed a terminal for her in 2008. Centre: Some of Vollick's personal memorabilia. Above, from left to right: Vollick's late sister Joyce Miles, article author and pilot Marilyn Dickson, Vollick's daughter Eileen Barnes, and Vollick's sister Audrey Hopkin.

LEFT AND CENTRE IMAGES COURTESY OF WALTER JAMES MILES, RIGHT IMAGE COURTESY OF MARILYN DICKSON

husbands were unable to provide for their wives and families. It is also possible that Vollick didn't continue with her earlier aspirations because flying commercially would have required additional American qualifications.

Though Vollick triumphed over so many societal expectations in learning to fly and becoming Canada's first licensed female pilot, once she was married her husband and children took priority. Though she dearly loved her family, Vollick often regretted giving up flying. On September 27, 1968, she died at the age of sixty in Elmhurst.

Vollick gave up flying in order to raise her family, but she clearly passed on an interest in aerial activity. In 2008, her daughter Joyce Miles celebrated her seventy-sixth birthday with a three-generation parachute jump. Joyce, her son Jim Miles, and her granddaughter Danielle Yerdon all jumped from three thousand metres. Also in 2008, Vollick's ninety-two-year-old sister Audrey Hopkin realized her own dream of many years when she took the controls of an airplane and flew the instructor and Vollick's daughters Joyce and Eileen Barnes across Ontario's Bruce Peninsula.

Despite Eileen Vollick's achievements, all major acknowledgements of her success were granted posthumously. Many family members have participated in celebrations of her legacy. In 1975, International Women's Year, the First Canadian Chapter of the Ninety-Nines, the international organization of women pilots, awarded Vollick the Amelia Earhart medallion for her outstanding contribution to aviation. In 1976, the Ninety-Nines and the Ontario Heritage Foundation erected a historic plaque at Hamilton Civic Airport to celebrate Vollick's groundbreaking achievement. And in 1978 Vollick was honoured at the International Forest of Friendship, a serene park near Amelia Earhart's birthplace, Atchison, Kansas, that honours individuals from many countries who have made significant contributions to aviation. A meandering pathway weaves among trees native to the countries of honourees.

On August 2, 2008, the one hundredth anniversary of Vollick's birth, the Wiarton Keppel International Airport near Owen Sound, Ontario, recognized her by naming the terminal building after her. A display inside the Eileen Vollick terminal celebrates her accomplishments. That same day the East Canada Section Ninety-Nines issued a customized postage stamp to celebrate her contribution to Canadian aviation.

Vollick was aware of her contribution to Canadian aviation history, but she was also remarkably modest about it, considering the young age at which she took to the air. It was her fame as Canada's first licensed female pilot that led to several invitations to flying events. Those included her invitation to the event where she met the man she would marry, and it was their marriage that led to her move to the United States and her retirement from aviation.

Had Vollick not been inappropriately introduced to stunts, spins, and loops during her first thrilling flight, would she have been more content with less-exciting flying and have stayed in Canada to continue as a pioneering aviator after earning her licence? The culture of the time makes that doubtful. Nevertheless, and despite her short time as a pilot, Eileen Vollick broke stereotypes and made a new future possible for the women who came after her.

FIRST TRANS-CANADA TRIP

A Canadian Air Force project took ten days (October 7 to 17, 1920) to fly from Halifax to Vancouver using several pilots and aircraft.

1920

FIRST LICENSED FEMALE PILOT

Nineteen-year-old Eileen Vollick earned her pilot's licence on March 13, 1928, near Hamilton.

1928

NAMING & CLAIMING

THE DREAM OF REGAINING LOST NATIONHOOD FOR HIS PEOPLE – ONCE SOVEREIGNS OF VAST STRETCHES OF PRESENT-DAY CANADA – FIRED THE MIND OF A SASKATCHEWAN CHIEF

BY RAY ARGYLE

The document is faded, its edges are tattered, and it has taken on a tint of sepia. It is one of only five known original copies of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which recognized Indigenous title to lands in British North America that had not been ceded by treaty. A visitor to the rare books and special collections area of McGill University's library in Montreal will find the document framed under glass.

While the importance of the proclamation is just being discovered by many non-Indigenous Canadians, its power has exerted a lifelong influence on Solomon Sanderson, the Saskatchewan Cree chieftain who brought unity and a common identity to Indigenous people by his invention of the term "First Nations."

That creation of Chief Sanderson's fertile mind, which first appeared in the 1980 Declaration of the First Nations claiming "rights and responsibilities [that] cannot be altered or taken away by any other nation," would prove to be a turning point in the long struggle of Indigenous peoples to gain fuller recognition and recompense as the original occupants of present-day Canada.

"I coined the term 'First Nations' to plant a seed to show we are nations entitled to sovereignty, with a long history of self-government," said Sanderson. "The idea came to me when we were working on a new governance structure for the reserves in Saskatchewan that would be based on our traditional customs and inherent rights. We had many days of debate and discussion. Our people were afraid to speak of sovereignty, and many refused to believe we could have self-government.

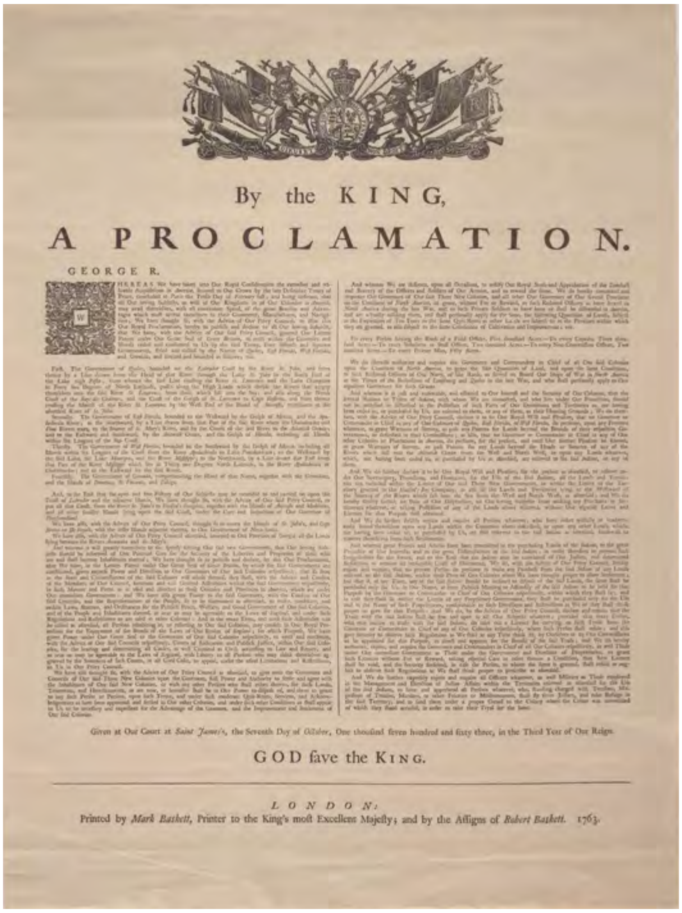
"One night in 1980, I got up about three thirty and sat at the kitchen table, scribbling out terms. I didn't like the term Indian band, because a band could include people from different tribes, like Cree and Blackfoot. When I wrote down 'First Nations,' I realized that was it. We had been nations before European contact, and it was time to become nations again, this time First Nations." The term, he felt, was ideal to describe Indigenous people who were not Métis or Inuit.

Sanderson remembered that the royal proclamation of

ANDREA SANDERSON

CHIEF'S
POLICY CONFERENCE

Saskatchewan Cree chief Solomon Sanderson in the mid-1970s.



By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Given at Our Court at *Saint James's*, the Seventh Day of *October*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty three, in the Third Year of Our Reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

LONDON:
Printed by *Mark Baskett*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty; and by the Aſſigns of *Robert Baskett*. 1763.

Above: The Royal Proclamation of 1763.

Right: Young Solomon Sanderson mid-1960s.

King George III referred to Indian nations, and, he said, "this had a strong influence on me." Sanderson had read the document as a boy at an Indian residential school to which he was sent at the age of fifteen. According to the proclamation, "the several Nations or Tribes of Indians … who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed." Sanderson saw it as a charter of rights for Indigenous peoples — a promise forgotten by Canada in its rush to take over land and to push the original occupants to the edge of existence.

"There were sixty-nine nations with highly structured governance systems on Turtle Island when the whites arrived," Sanderson said, referring to North America by the name given to it by the Iroquois, among other First Nations. "We showed the Europeans democracy, of which they knew nothing, having come from countries ruled by kings and tyrants."

To Perry Bellegarde, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, the term coined by Sanderson "conveys the reality that we are the original peoples of this land, and we are nations in every sense of the word, with our own languages, laws, lands, governance systems, and citizens."

Ask a Canadian how long First Nations have been in existence, and the answer will probably be "thousands of years." Only in the past forty years, however, have they been known by that name. The fact that the term has won universal acceptance in such a brief period qualifies it as a change in itself but also as something with the power to create change.

"Sometimes changing language can change how people see reality," said Bob Rae, who has acquired a unique outsider's understanding of First Nations issues in his career as a politician and lawyer. He is now the negotiator for the Matawa First Nations on the Ring of Fire mineral development in northern Ontario.

"This is certainly the case with the phrase 'First Nations,'" Rae added. "The phrase implies sovereignty, self-government, and a sense of priority. It brought a historic shift in sensibility."

Alan Middleton, a professor of marketing at York University and an expert in branding, said the expression "First Nations" has worked because "it is an all-encompassing term that unites Aboriginal bands and gives them a common national interest." As such, he noted, "It has raised the profile and credibility of Indigenous peoples."

Solomon George Sanderson was born in 1941 on James Smith reserve, now a First Nations community near Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. His parents operated a mixed farm growing wheat and barley and raising cattle, pigs, and chickens. The family spoke Cree at home, and Sanderson absorbed a traditional culture of sharing and support.

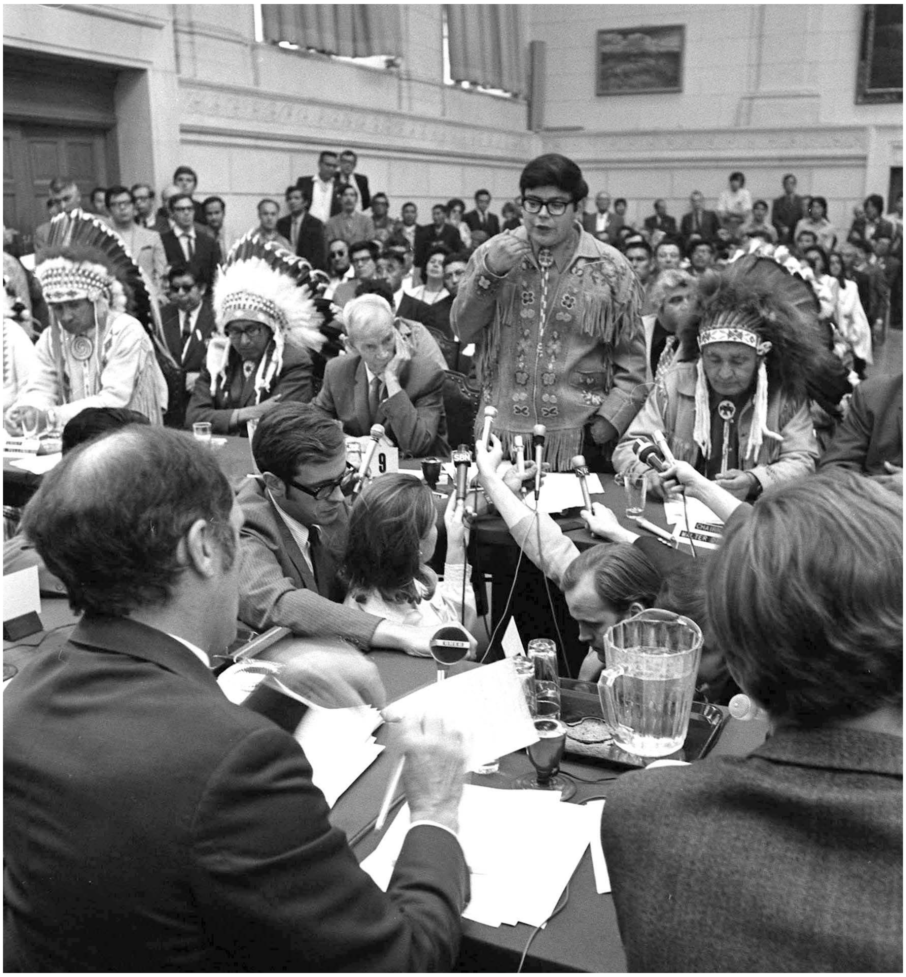
"I came to no harm at the residential school but I did learn about politics," he said. "I put out a student newsletter that was sent to parents at home, but the school put a stop to it. We got only one issue out before we lost our freedom of the press."

Loss runs through Sanderson's recounting of his life and times. First as chief of his home reserve, and later as chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations from 1979 to 1986, he witnessed the struggle of his people to reclaim a lost destiny as sovereigns in their own land.

"From the time of their arrival Europeans targeted the destabilization of our governments, customs, practices, laws, and culture," Sanderson asserted. "They implemented integration, assimilation, and liquidation. They destroyed families, communities, and nations. We lost total control of our lives. The consequences are unemployment, suicides, drug addiction, and homelessness. "

Sanderson came of age in the tumultuous 1960s. A white paper by the then newly elected federal government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau proposed the abolition of the *Indian Act* and sent shock waves through Indigenous communities. Although they resented the act's control over their lives, they feared that its abolition could lead to what Alberta Cree writer, teacher, and lawyer Harold Cardinal called "cultural genocide."

MCGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES; ANDREA SANDERSON



Left: Harold Cardinal (standing), president of the Indian Association of Alberta, addresses Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in Ottawa, June 4, 1970. Cardinal requested that treaties with First Nations be handed over for settlement to a "truly impartial claims commission."

Above: Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau attends the Federal Provincial Constitutional Conference in Ottawa on February 13, 1969.

CP IMAGES

Sanderson joined the protests against the proposal. He recalls driving to a rally in Regina in an old Model A Ford. He slept in it for several nights, until the decision to fight the federal government had been made. The fight was successful, and the government never acted on the white paper.

After studying at a business college in Prince Albert, Sanderson served as executive director of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations before being elected its chief.

When Trudeau declared his intention in 1980 to repatriate the *British North America Act* in order to give Canada a new constitution — one lacking recognition of the nation-building contributions of its first citizens — the response from Indigenous people was rapid and forceful.

After failing to secure a meeting with the prime minister, Sanderson led a delegation that met with Governor General Edward Schreyer to ask him to intercede with Parliament. The *Ottawa Citizen* quoted the representatives as asking for recognition that First Nations' "powers and responsibilities exist as a permanent, integral fact," just as set out in the royal proclamation of two hundred years earlier.

The group gave a copy of the new Declaration of the First Nations to the Governor General. It marked the first public presentation of the declaration and the first formal claim to the status of First Nations. In reporting the meeting, the *Ottawa Citizen* carefully used the expression "first nations" in quotation marks and without capital letters.

After rallies across Canada and missions to the United Nations and to London, England, where the British Parliament was considering the new *Canada Act*, Sanderson confronted Justice Minister Jean Chrétien at a news conference in Canada House.

"When Mr. Chrétien saw me he turned pale and angry," Chief Sanderson recalled. "I gave him a package of papers to show to the Queen. Instead, he threw them back at me, right over my head." The incident was reported in the Quebec media but not in English Canada, Sanderson said.

On April 17, 1982, Queen Elizabeth and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau signed the new constitution at a ceremony in Ottawa. With the future of Indigenous rights far from settled, the National Indian Brotherhood reached a fateful decision: It would throw out its existing name and become, as Sanderson advocated, the Assembly of First Nations. A week after the Queen's signing of the constitution, nearly four hundred chiefs met in Penticton, British Columbia, to replace their loose federation with a new, more centralized organization. Saskatchewan delegates put forward the three motions that created the AFN, and a Saskatchewan chief, David Ahenakew, was elected national chief.

Mohawks from Kahnawake, Quebec, celebrate National Aboriginal Day in Montreal on June 21, 2016.

WHO ARE THE FIRST NATIONS?

The First Nations of Canada are made up of 634 individual nations in all provinces and territories, based on fifty tribal groupings such as Cree, Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), and Huron. First Nations inhabitants are people of Indigenous descent who are neither Métis nor Inuit.

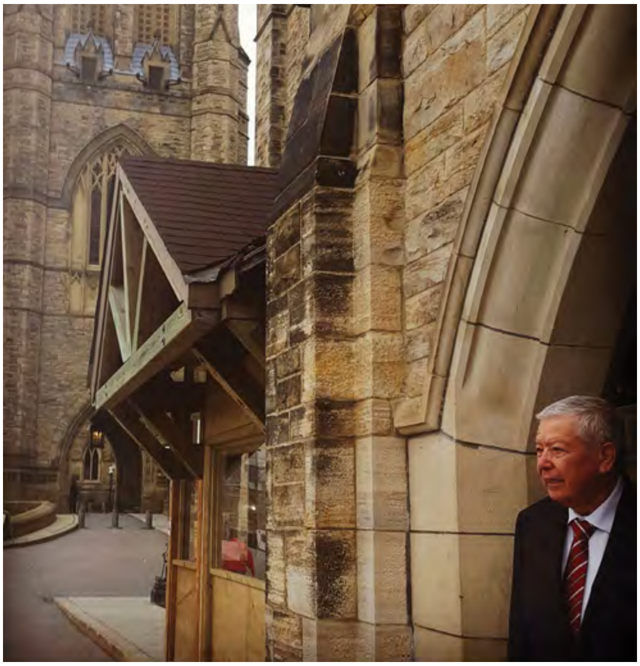
In the 2011 census, 851,560 people identified as First Nations. Most (697,505) held registered or treaty status, and about half lived in First Nations communities, formerly known as reserves. More than sixty Indigenous languages were reported to be in use in Canada.

Many First Nations are in the process of developing self-government agreements with Canada, and all are accountable to the Canadian government for public funding.

The federal government has allocated $8.4 billion for the period from 2016 to 2021, with the goal of bringing about what it describes as "transformational change." In August 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau announced plans for the creation of two new departments: Indigenous Services Canada and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada.

The other Indigenous groupings in Canada are the Métis and Inuit. Métis people numbered 451,795 in 2011 and were spread across Canada. The Inuit population of 59,446 lives primarily in Nunavut.

In a historic nod to the nation-to-nation relationship that was emerging between Canada and Indigenous peoples, Trudeau invited First Nations elders to meet with him and with the provincial premiers in a first ministers conference in 1983. The idea of chiefs sitting down with the prime minister and premiers to work out their future was something new for Canadians to grasp, as was the "First Nations" label the chiefs had attached to their cause.



Solomon Sanderson in February 2016 at the Senate entrance to the Centre Block on Parliament Hill during Senate meetings.

It took three meetings, all of which Sanderson attended, before an agreement was reached for Canada to recognize not just "existing" treaty rights but also those that "may be so acquired." That principle, set out in Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, has since been reflected in such treaties as those signed with the Nisga'a and Tsilhqot'in First Nations in British Columbia, recognizing their rights to self-government and giving them extensive control over resource development on their lands.

At seventy-six, Sanderson remains active in efforts to improve the lives of his people. His First Nations Forum, a think-tank that develops educational curricula grounded in Aboriginal philosophies, builds on his long interest in education. He was a founder of the First Nations University of Canada that has graduated four thousand students since 1976.

When the chiefs of the seventy-four nations making up the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (since renamed the Federation of Sovereign Indigenous Nations) met in 2016, Sanderson recounted the changes he had seen over the fifty-nine years he had spent working on Indigenous issues. "I've been at it since I was fifteen," he said, adding, "I need more than your respect now. I need your permission to implement the wisdom of Solomon."

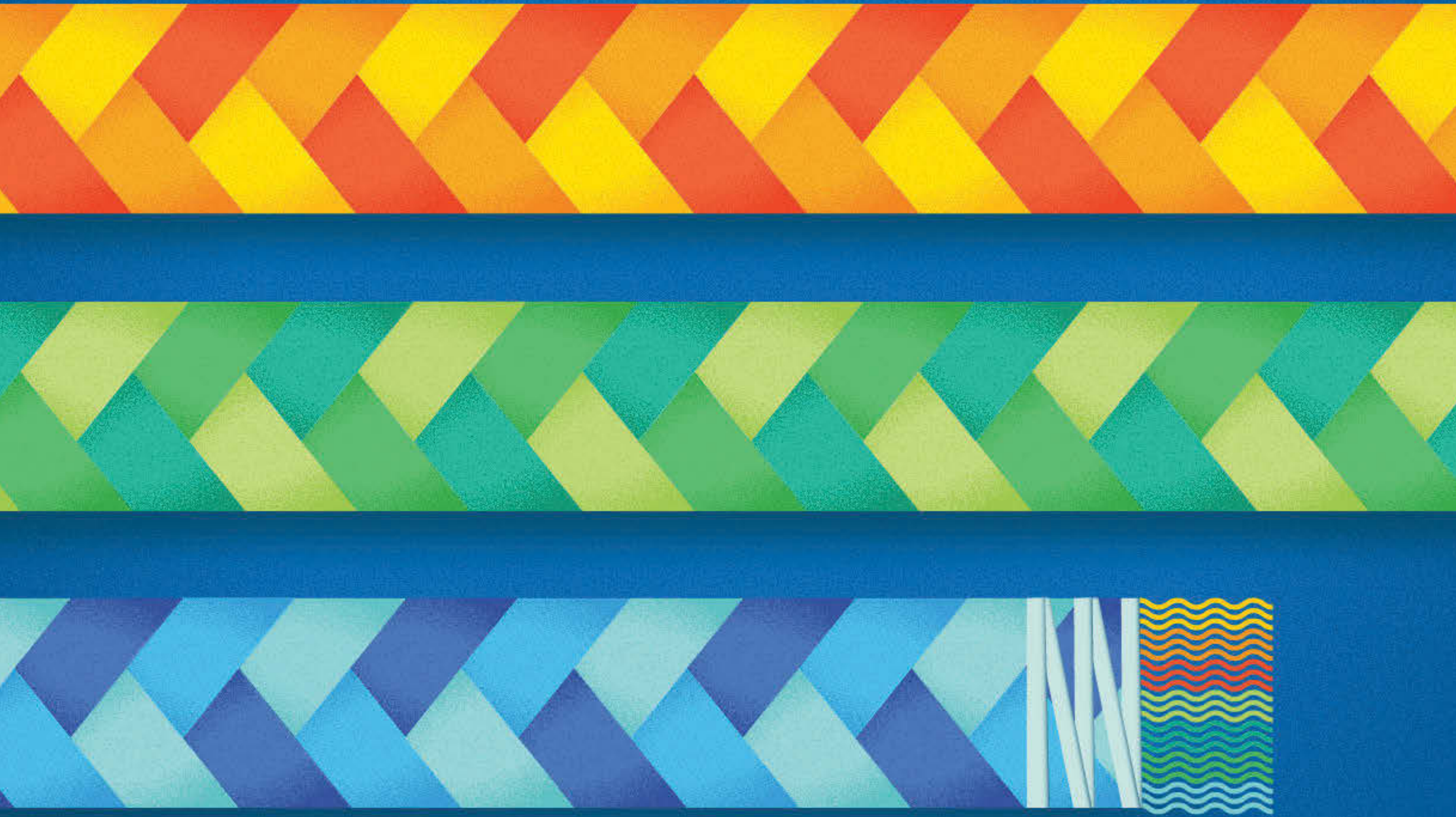
Two hundred and fifty-five years have passed since the royal proclamation recognized the existence of Indigenous nations, and it has been thirty-six years since the Assembly of First Nations came into being. Nearly 1.5 million Indigenous Canadians — First Nations, Métis, and Inuit — may at last be on the cusp of securing their rightful inheritance as the first sovereigns of this land.

CP IMAGES; ANDREA SANDERSON

CANADA'S HISTORY presents:

TREATIES

AND THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP



Canada's History Society is pleased to share this special complimentary publication with all Canadians. This issue has been co-edited by Manitoba Treaty Commissioner Loretta Ross and *Canada's History* editor-in-chief Mark Collin Reid.

Read this special issue online at **CanadasHistory.ca/ExploreTreaties**

DETERMINED NATION

DESPITE RACISM AND PERSECUTION, THE ROMA HAVE PERSEVERED IN CANADA.

BY CYNTHIA LEVINE-RASKY

Romani children washing at a camp on the Humber River in Toronto's west end, 1918.

IN SEPTEMBER 1919, IN SYDNEY, NOVA SCOTIA, a police officer encountered a group of settlers who had not been seen before — a group of twenty-one Roma who had recently arrived in the Cape Breton Island town. The plainclothes officer charged the men in the group with robbery, despite their claim of having no knowledge of the crime. Their brief stay in the county jail was followed by bail, release, and an arraignment. The police confiscated the group's horses.

Sixteen years later, Cape Breton was the site of another incident involving a group of Roma, but the outcome could not have been more different. In early June 1935, a "Gypsy" camp was set up in the small town of Reserve, near Glace Bay. Some Romani women set up a business telling fortunes at the camp and from a storefront in Glace Bay. As skilled mechanics, the men sought odd jobs. The group encountered some minor annoyances with townspeople, but nothing that could have led them to anticipate what was to happen to them one week later.

Shortly after three o'clock in the morning, five drunk miners attacked the camp with a barrage of stones, sticks, and bottles. A newspaper reporter wrote that "hardly a member of the band escaped in the carnage that followed." The miners pulled two girls, Bessie and Millie Demetro, from their tent with the intent of raping them. To scare off the invaders, Romani elder Frank Demetro fired a warning gunshot into the air; he was also suspected of firing another shot that killed one of the miners, Vincent McNeil. Demetro

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required care at a local hospital for the injuries he sustained in the attack. He was placed under RCMP guard. Canadian Roma commemorate the event in a song named for Demetro's plea to his wife, Kezha, for help after the miners' assault, "*Kezha, de ma ki katrinsa te kosav o rat pa mande*" (Kezha, give me your apron to wipe the blood from me).

The coroner's hearing into McNeil's death heard from many witnesses, including four Romani girls and one man. Demetro's brother Russel, fearing that Demetro, a diabetic, would not survive a jail term, admitted to shooting McNeil. Russel Demetro was tried and acquitted on a plea of self-defence.

The 1935 case in Cape Breton is the most dramatic and violent of all documented incidents against Canadian Roma. In general the Roma made their way through Canada and peacefully settled here, just like so many other immigrant groups. Provincial archives and local historical society records reveal that Roma travelled through almost every region of the country as early as 1880. Men made their living as horse traders and as coppersmiths, while women worked as fortune tellers, midwives, and herbalists. Many Roma later worked in travelling carnivals.

A Romani woman with her two children at a camp in Peterborough, 1909.

THE PETERBOROUGH DAILY EVENING REVIEW. BALSILLIE COLLECTION OF THE ROY STUDIO. COURTESY OF THE PETERBOROUGH CENTENNIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES.

Like other ethnic groups who migrated here long ago, the Roma worked to establish homes and to sustain themselves economically, often travelling as itinerant tradespeople or craftspeople. Also like other groups, the Roma have often been misunderstood or regarded with suspicion. But, unlike with people of other ethnicities, the myth of the Gypsy travelled alongside the Roma wherever they went.

This myth, which simultaneously sees the Roma as romantic wanderers and as swindlers to be feared, served to justify their mistreatment. When we learn of their historical travails, however, belief in the Gypsy myth is challenged, just as it is when we encounter the Roma in Canada today — a dynamic and pluralistic community numbering about one hundred thousand and encompassing citizens of many faiths, occupations, and statuses.

The Roma have been in Canada for more than a century as part of a diaspora affecting all Romani subgroups. Despite their lack of identification with a national homeland, all Roma share an origin dating most likely to the eleventh century in Punjab, Rajasthan, and Sindh in northwestern India. They also share the Romani language, which is most similar to Urdu but also shares Sanskrit origins with Hindi, Punjabi, and Bengali.

Among Roma who came to Canada, the most common subgroups include the Kalderash, from what is now Romania; the Romanichal, from the United Kingdom; Gitano and Sinti (or Manouche), from central and western Europe; and various divisions of Romungro, who dwell mainly in Hungary.

Traditionally, the Roma neither used surnames nor identified themselves as Roma but instead referred to themselves as Russians, Ukrainians, British, and so on. This fact — together with English approximations of their European names, spelling variations, and their often having more than one preferred name — creates formidable challenges in identifying family groups in land grant records.

The earliest account of the Roma landing in Canada is found in the 1895 *History of the County of Lunenburg*. The entry for September 14, 1862, reads: "Gypsies arrived at Lunenburg (it was said for the first time), and pitched their tents in Mr. N. Kaulbach's pasture." Where this early group of visitors to Nova Scotia came from and who they were is unknown.

Author Matt Salo claims that groups of Roma (the subgroup known as Romanichals) arrived from the United Kingdom in the 1870s and that a group of Ludari Roma emigrated from Bosnia to Canada in the 1890s. Salo's entry on "Gypsies/Rom" in the 1979 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples* informs readers that "passenger lists record Rom arriving at New York in 1899, 1900, and 1901 who claimed either to have been in Canada or to be headed here…."

Romani-Canadian author and expert on the diaspora Ronald Lee chronicles Romani settlements in what became Alberta starting around 1902. These early settlers were descendants of Romani slaves in the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. (The enslavement of the European Roma began with their arrival in the region in 1385 and continued until the 1860s.) Migrating to Russia, Serbia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and other countries, and then on to Argentina, Mexico, and Central America, these Romani families entered the United States before arriving in Canada.

Interactions between local residents and Roma travelling in small family groups occurred in almost every province. In historical almanacs, most encounters are discussed only fleetingly, such as in the report of the "Gypsy show put on in Kamloops" in 1898, or in a description of visitors who dressed "like Gypsies," or in the numerous sightings of nearby campsites. While it is impossible to verify that these encounters were indeed with Romani families, the nature of the migrants' activities — dancing, fortune-telling, the sale of handicrafts, and horse-trading, for instance — do correspond to Romani traditions at the time.

A 1909 account in Calgary describes one Jann Mitchell, a prosperous farmer said to be of "gypsy" ancestry who lived about eighteen miles east of High River, Alberta. On October 19, visitors from Vancouver supplemented his already large extended family and set up an impressive tent village on his property. About one year later in Eastend, Saskatchewan, Alice Freel writes in the book *Range Riders and "sodbusters,"* published by the local history society, that the RCMP were working to keep the "gypsies" on the move.

In her book *Gypsies, Preachers and Big White Bears*, Claudia Smith describes "gypsies" moving through Lanark County in eastern Ontario between 1890 and 1930. Their arrival was met with anxiety because, Smith explains, "people were dubious of these foreign looking folk and tales of treachery, though not of violence, preceded them. Signs barring them from certain buildings and areas of town were not uncommon." The Roma went from door to door selling handiwork or making trades for garden produce, meat, or used children's clothing. And the newcomers had valuable skills: They used wild plants to treat ailments in horses, burdock and nettles for hair growth, brambles for skin lesions, and cowslip and hops to quiet nervous or excitable animals. Perhaps because of the Roma's expertise, or because of the chance to get a problem off their hands, "people often saved unruly horses that balked, bit or kicked to trade to the gypsies," Smith writes.

An account from around 1905 in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec, mentions a group of Roma. Translated into English, it describes "bohemians that the local people called gypsies," who stopped their caravans to trade horses or to sell rustic furniture made of twigs and branches. Still farther east, we learn of a 1928 visit by three families of "Gypsy Coppersmiths" to Saint John, New Brunswick. In a 1929 issue of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, author J.R. Moriarty explains that the families remained for about two months and returned to Montreal when opportunities for local work ended. Readers learn that the men's workshop was in an old ruined cellar at the back of the camp and that it contained all the tools of their trade. The women told fortunes while dressed in "the usual costume of these Gypsies, with long, braided hair, coins and necklaces."

A Romani camp in Ontario's Muskoka district circa 1885 to 1895.

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ROMA? ROMANI? ROM?

The word "Roma" derives from the language Romani, which in some of its dialects is sometimes referred to as "Romanes." As in other languages, the word for man or a people is what anthropologists call an ethnonym – the name a group calls itself. Like the word Inuit, it derives from the group's language. The word "Gypsy" is an exonym, imposed upon the Roma by dominant cultures. In this sense, it is like the use of the word "Indian" to refer to First Nations people – a word that makes a spurious connection between a group and its suspected origins. In the case of the Roma, the word "Gypsy" was thought to indicate their Egyptian origin. "Rom" denotes man and also husband; "Romni" denotes a woman or wife. Since English does not ascribe a gender to nouns, these words are translated into the generic collective "Roma." In English, the adjective is "Romani," as in Romani artists or Romani cuisine. These rules are not hard and fast, and the word "Gypsy," while derogatory when spoken by non-Roma, is still used with pride by some Roma themselves. The use of "gypsy" with a lower-case "g" is always injurious and is to be avoided.

Numerous stories of Romani settlement exist as oral history. In his book *Goddam Gypsy*, first published in 1971 and later retitled *E Zhivindi Yag: The Living Fire*, Ronald Lee tells of one William Stanton, also known as William Evans, an American-born Romani man of the Kalderash group whose father was born in Canada and whose grandfather had arrived from Europe. Stanton planned to raise horses on a property near High River, but when he discovered that the water was contaminated with petroleum he sold the land and began buying horses from locals, including Indigenous people, and shipping the horses back east to relatives.

According to Lee, Stanton was part of a group of Canadian Roma who settled in Leduc, Alberta, around 1902. The area was on a spur line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, making it easy to ship horses from there. An exchange was set up in which broken mustang horses were shipped east, and draft horses were shipped west to sell to immigrant farmers in what became Alberta and in parts of the North-West Territories that are now in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Lee also describes how the Roma sent horses from Western Canada to Toronto and Montreal, where they were destined for the Canadian military and for use in the First World War.

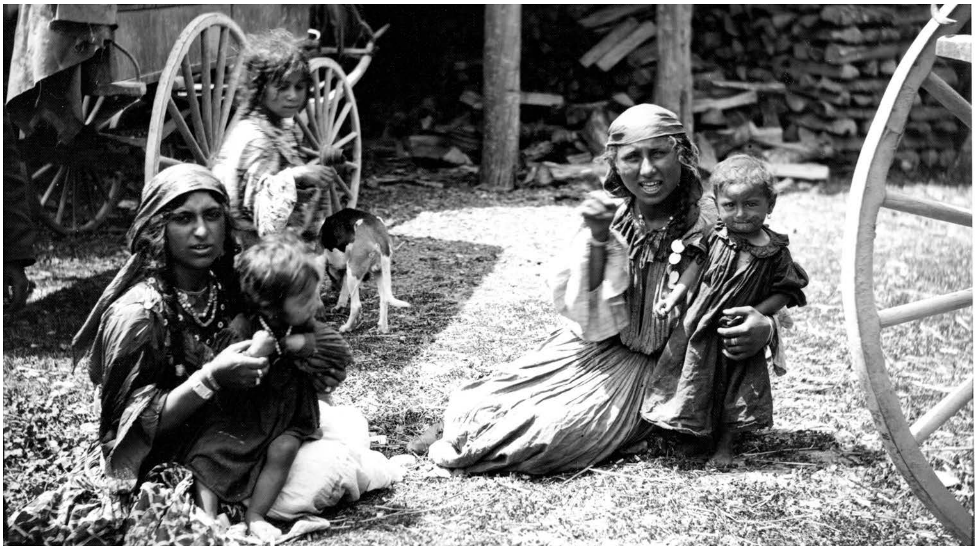
In a series of thirteen articles published from June 21 to August 5, 1909, the *Evening Examiner* of Peterborough, Ontario, tells the story of a visit by a Romani group. On June 21, a "band of gypsies" was rounded up. All of the sixty men, women, and children were jailed, the men put in cells and the women and children confined to the jail yard with all of their wagons. The men, one reporter wrote, "are a villainous looking lot and appear fit to undertake any crime."

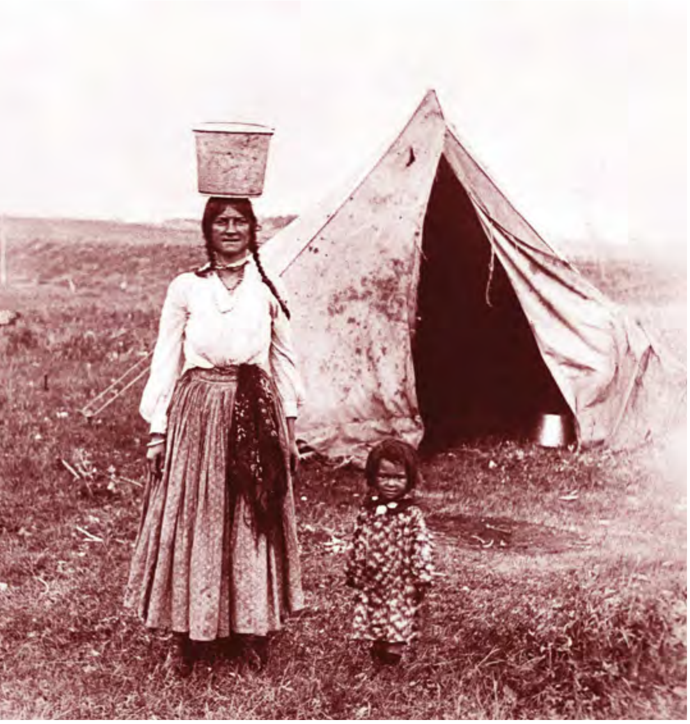
On June 22, all of the Roma were charged with loitering on the roadside, obstructing the highway, and interfering with passengers. The men received a jail sentence of one week, but the women and children were led to another site to look after themselves, since the cost of feeding the entire group would have been prohibitive for the town. The women were joined

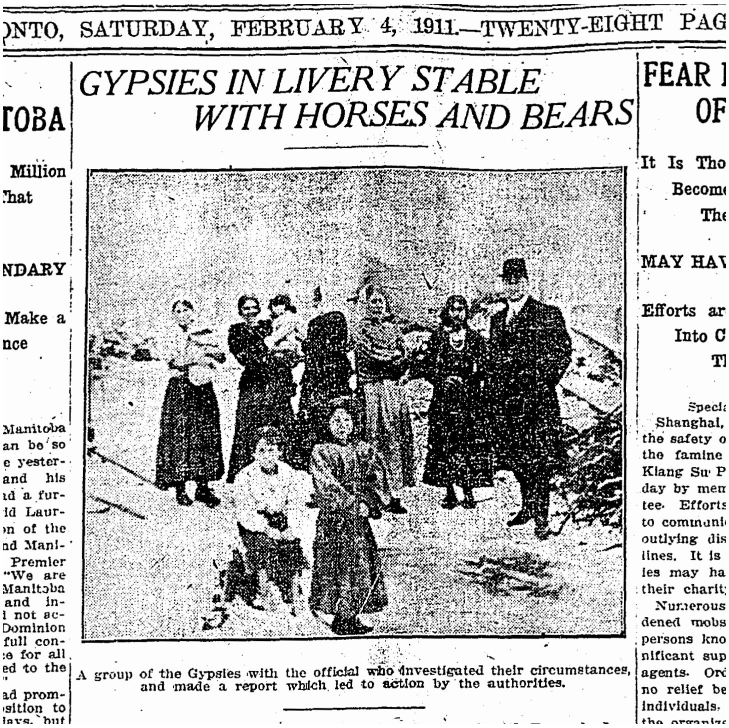
Right: Two Romani women with their children and caravans at a camp in Peterborough, 1909.

Below: A Bulgarian-Romani woman and child at Innisfail, Alberta, in 1904.

Below: An article from the *Toronto Daily Star* dated February 4, 1911, describes life at a Romani camp.







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GYPSIES IN LIVERY STABLE WITH HORSES AND BEARS

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THE PETERBOROUGH DAILY EVENING REVIEW. BALSILLIE COLLECTION OF THE ROY STUDIO. COURTESY OF THE PETERBOROUGH CENTENNIAL MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES, GLENBOW ARCHIVES, TORONTO DAILY STAR.

on June 23 by another group of Roma, whose leaders gave the names Rosie and Michael George. As the Roma often did, the pair went along with the romanticized image of their people and were soon referred to by the authorities and in the press as "Rosie, the Gypsy Queen" and "Chief Michael George."

The people of Peterborough collected around the campsite like tourists, such that "each family hearth was surrounded by a circle of curious sightseers, who watched with interest the culinary arrangements of the gypsies." At a trial held on June 28, the Roma pleaded not guilty to the charges. After the court extracted a fine of $125 and a promise to leave the city at once, the men were freed from jail, and further charges were dropped. The authorities discovered that the Roma were "naturalized citizens of Canada having been here more than two years and therefore cannot be deported."

A twist in the story occurred on Wednesday, June 30, when a Roma wedding took place in what was known as the Driving Park. Of the event, a journalist wrote, "the party is as gaudily dressed as an excited crowd at a Mexican bull fight or an Oriental population rejoicing over the ascension of a new Sultan." The local 57th Regimental Band played. The groom was identified as J. Stoke and the bride as the daughter of Chief Michael George. Inquiries from a reporter about the officiant for the ceremony went unanswered.

Nearly a month later, on July 20, the "king" and "queen" returned to Peterborough from Ottawa to acquire evidence of the wedding. Rosie explained that the bride's family had charged Rosie's band with kidnapping the child bride and now required proof of the legitimacy of the wedding. By this time, the identities of the couple had changed from initial accounts. The bride was Katrina Miguel, aged twelve, a Bulgarian-Romani girl, and the groom was Spero Sterrio, also twelve, son of Christo Sterrio, a Mexican-Romani man. While no doubt shocking to many Canadians, the young age of the couple reflects Romani customs at the time.

A journalist found nothing but confusion among the crowd who gathered to hear the details, but he finally obtained this information from an older woman of the group: There was a wedding "carried out in a church the same as the Canadian ceremony, but they first had their own method or rite." The Roma explained to the court that neither a contract nor the children's consent were required for a marriage, hence the difficulty in obtaining the proof sought by the bride's family. The entire episode concluded on August 5 with the presentation to the court of a brass tray, a wine bottle covered with a silken cloth, and a string of gold coins. Such artifacts are still used in some Romani betrothal ceremonies today, and they were then offered as proof that the wedding ceremony took place that June.

A series of stories in the *Toronto Star*, and one story in the *Toronto Globe* in 1910, described a group of Roma who first appeared in the location of what is now the intersection of Toronto's Eglinton and Bayview avenues. This "band of wanderers" was the first camp of "Gypsies" to be recorded in the city. The group was composed of four men, three women, three children, two bears (the *Globe* reports four bears), a baboon, some horses, and hens. The bears and baboon were kept as a street attraction for a paying public. Despite residents' fears of theft from clotheslines and milk deliveries, no specific complaints against the group were reported. "Perfectly peaceful, they have shown themselves to be law-abiding citizens and people of wealth. They are no longer suspected of anything other than a too-vivid imagination when they tell fortunes, and as far as the neighbours are concerned they may stay there forever," the *Star* reporter wrote.

The peace did not last. When authorities received complaints about the Roma as a "public nuisance" who mistreated their animals, they ignored the fact that the group had purchased the land on which its members were living. Police broke up the camp on February 4, 1911, and placed the entire group and its animals in the livery stable at 77 King Street West. The Humane Society (and also the Children's Aid Society, according to the *Globe*) carried out inspections.

This "band of wanderers" was the first camp of "Gypsies" to be recorded in Toronto. The group was composed of four men, three women, three children, two bears (the *Globe* reports four bears), a baboon, some horses, and hens.

While the provincial secretary's department in Ottawa reviewed the matter, the displaced family set up camp with another group of Roma located west of the Humber River near Mimico, Ontario. No final decision about the Toronto group is reported, but the authorities' hopes of deporting them were dashed upon discovering that, like the Peterborough visitors, the Roma had passports authorizing their stay in Canada. The animals were sold to a group known as the Royal English Gypsies who held property on Queen Street.

Nine years later, the *Star* noted the arrival of eight families of "Serbian Gypsies" at York Mills, Ontario. These Roma were coppersmiths and, the newspaper reported, had "forsaken horse trading" for cars. Since this group made its living not by horse-trading but by making and fixing copper pots — as a photograph that accompanied the story shows — the reporter likely meant that they had replaced horse-drawn caravans with cars. One group photograph shows at least sixteen people, half of whom are children. A second photograph shows three men, two women, and a child standing with two large copper pots, the traditional trade of the Kalderash subgroup.

Another early account of the Roma was a 1920 address delivered to the Canadian Club by a British-born Romanichal.

A group of girls walk along a road near a Romani camp at Lambton Mills, Ontario, in 1911.

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Not to be confused with the well-known Romani preacher Rodney "Gypsy" Smith (1860–1947) who preached to British and American audiences, Captain Pat "Gipsy" Smith was an evangelist who served in the First World War and reached the rank of acting major. He spoke to his eminent audience about traditional Roma life. Referring to himself as Romany in ethnicity (a common alternate spelling of Romani), he informed members of the link between the indigenous language of Romany and Hindustan. Defining the Roma as a distinct people on the basis of their tents, caravans, upbringing, and the language known to all authentic Roma throughout Europe, Smith called them the "aristocrats of the road." Their self-appointed status was, he claimed, superior to that of all other people.

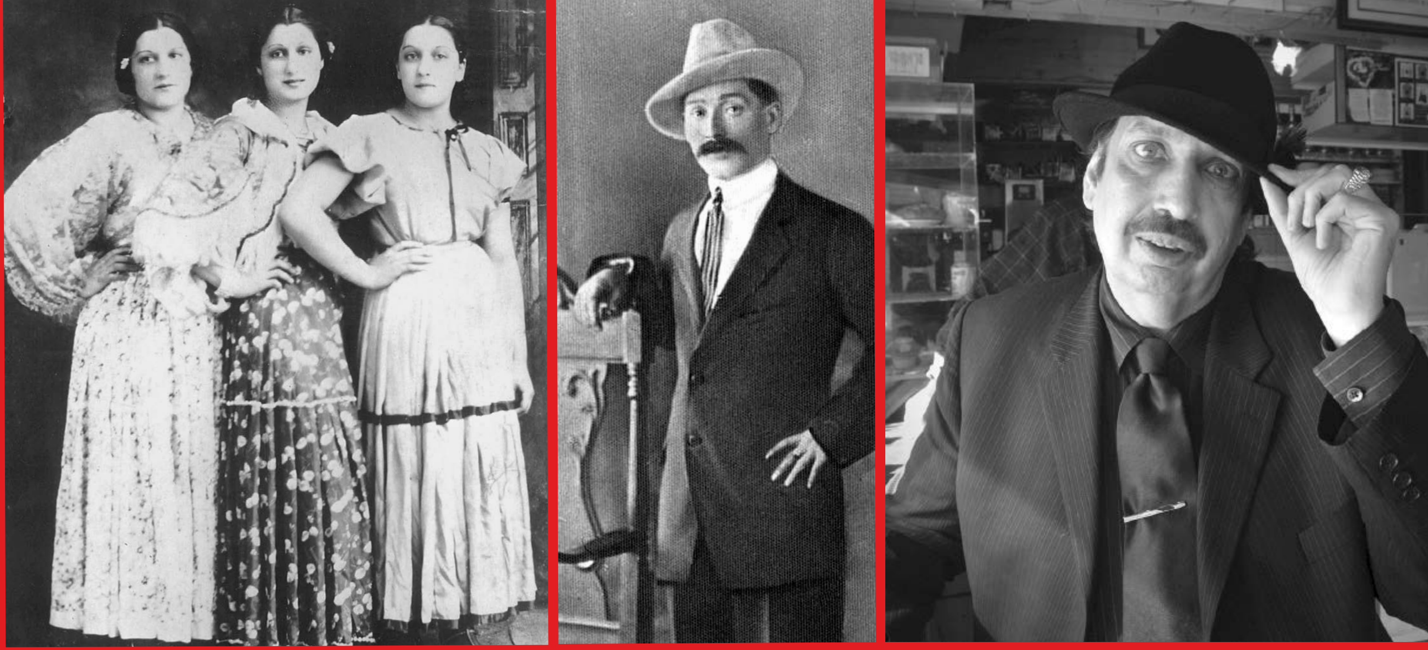
In more recent years, the Roma have come to attention once again in Canada, but for different reasons. The 1990s in central and eastern Europe meant new freedom for many citizens of post-Communist nations, but for the Roma times went from tolerable to intolerable. During the Communist era, they had work, a regular income, housing, and education. These benefits came, however, at the cost of losing their knowledge of traditional crafts as makers of household products, foresters, blacksmiths, and musical performers. Suddenly, many Roma were out of work, with no economically viable trade to which they could return.

Hate crimes against the Roma increased in frequency as extremist groups organized themselves and took violent action against the easiest of targets: the "Gypsies," who were blamed for various states' economic problems. Even as the human rights movement replaced the term "Gypsy" with "Roma," as a people they became extraordinarily vulnerable to violence. Paramilitary groups in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Italy, Austria, and Greece promoted anti-Roma beliefs and often took violent actions against the Roma, the largest ethnic minority group in Europe according to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

Like hundreds of thousands of other immigrants and refugees before them, the Roma saw in Canada a better way of life, free from persecution. Since the mid-1990s, they have been arriving and claiming asylum here from countries throughout central and eastern Europe. In 1998, for example, Canada received 204 refugee claims from Bulgarians, 1,230 from Czechs, 294 from Hungarians, and 346 from Romanians. The large majority of these people are Roma, but their relatively small numbers passed without notice.

However, in 2010, 2011, and 2012, Hungary ranked first among all source countries for asylum seekers in Canada, with a total of 8,605 people arriving in those three years — numbers that did get the Roma noticed. Since 2013, the number of Romani asylum seekers from central and eastern Europe has diminished considerably due to a host of restrictive measures implemented by the federal government — these were aimed at expediting refugee claims for people from "designated countries of origin." The Romani families who have been allowed to stay are, like hundreds of thousands of other immigrants, making this country their own.

The Gypsy Lore Society, founded in the United Kingdom in 1888, is an international repository of research and writing on the Roma peoples and "analogous peripatetic



Left: Left to right, sisters Boby (Barbara), Annie, and Dolly Evanovitch, Michael T. Butch's paternal grandmother and great-aunts, possibly in Edmonton, circa 1938. Centre: Yorgi (George), Butch's paternal great-grandfather, Edmonton. Right: Michael T. Butch.

THE BUTCH FAMILY

A VITAL AND ENDURING PRESENCE

One of the descendants of Romani pioneers in Canada is Michael T. Butch. The president of Toronto's Roma Community Centre, Butch also heads the rhythm and blues band The Gypsy Rebels and is one of the leaders among the Kalderash Roma in Toronto.

His paternal great-grandparents, Yorgi and Baba Butchinski, migrated from Russia in 1906 and entered Canada from the United States in 1908. They were from a large group of Russian-Romani musicians who arrived in Canada after spending some time in Western Europe as fugitives from the Russian Revolution.

As author Ronald Lee tells it, Romani music, which had been enjoyed by the czarist regime and the aristocracy, was outlawed as decadent and reactionary. The Butchinski family settled in Alberta when the Canadian government attracted settlers with the incentive of free farmland.

Their land had poor soil, though, and they sold it in 1955, unaware of the oil deposits below the surface. Both Butch's paternal grandfather and his maternal grandparents eventually settled in Montreal. To this day, Butch chuckles over the family's lost opportunity to make its fortune from the oil deposits on their land. His extended family now constitutes one of the largest Canadian-Romani clans.

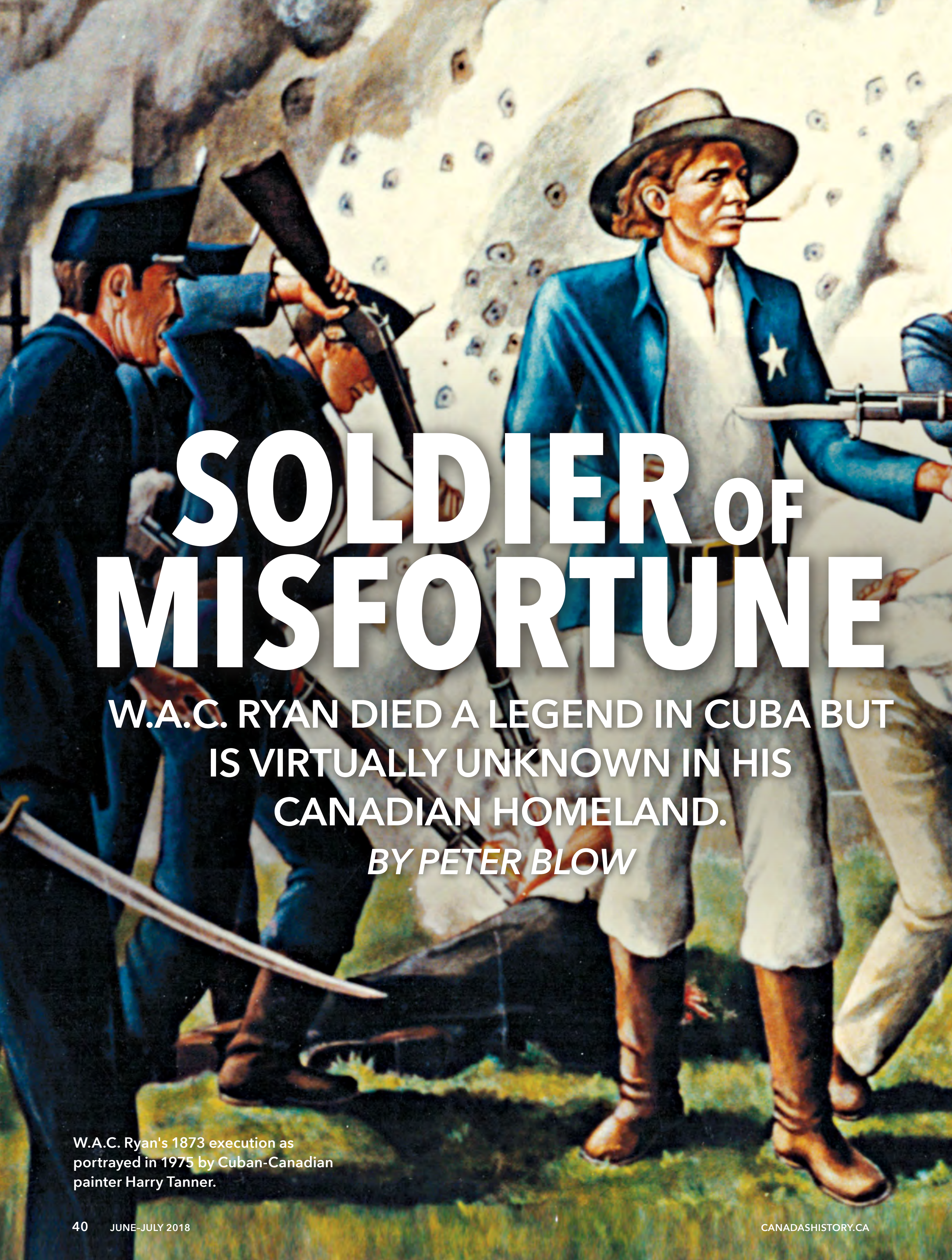
cultures" worldwide. In a 1934 issue of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, author Andrew Marchbin included a footnote describing one Elizabeth Stanley, the spokesperson of a Romani group of about forty or fifty people who spent time in Montreal in 1882. The women sold willow and cane baskets from door to door, and the men traded in horses, mainly from the group's property in Rhode Island.

Defending the undeservedly poor reputation of her people, Stanley said, "You see, sir, there's no swindling yere, but clear money, and we comes to Montreal and leaves more money than we ever takes away. We pays our debts, thank God, and are honest folks. People says hard things of Gypsies, but not one of our folks was ever arrested. Never one of our folks killed his wife, sir, or any other person. We don't do that, thank the Lord."

Marchbin writes wistfully that "sometimes to-day a picturesque wandering Gypsy caravan, on a business trip in one of the northern states of our southern neighbour, will cross the international boundary and visit us, camping in some beautiful spot and making the forest ring to the music of their melodies." Unlike the United States, Canada hosted no permanent Romani settlement in either the East or the West, Marchbin contends. Canada was just an "occasional market depending on the season."

Marchbin was wrong. The Roma have lived in Canada for more than a century. As in the pages of a treasured scrapbook, their history reads like a collection of disparate narratives with its mix of oral histories, antiquated scholarly research, journalism, and amateur historians' accounts. At once the subjects of fear and fascination, of tolerance and disapproval, the Roma have long been a people whose stories are typically told for them. With the voices of Ronald Lee, Micheal Butch, and others like Gina Csanyi-Robah, director of the Canadian Romani Alliance, Dafina Savic, director of the anti-discrimination organization Romanipe, artist and writer Lynn Hutchinson Lee, and Juno Award-winning musician Robi Botos, individuals are now telling their own stories.

As Romani refugees from a dozen countries join Canadian Roma, the collective scrapbook will be enriched with stories written not for them but by them. Canadian Roma? *Va, Rrom-Kanadácha*! (Yes, Canadian Roma!)



SOLDIER OF MISFORTUNE

W.A.C. RYAN DIED A LEGEND IN CUBA BUT IS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN IN HIS CANADIAN HOMELAND.

BY PETER BLOW

W.A.C. Ryan's 1873 execution as portrayed in 1975 by Cuban-Canadian painter Harry Tanner.

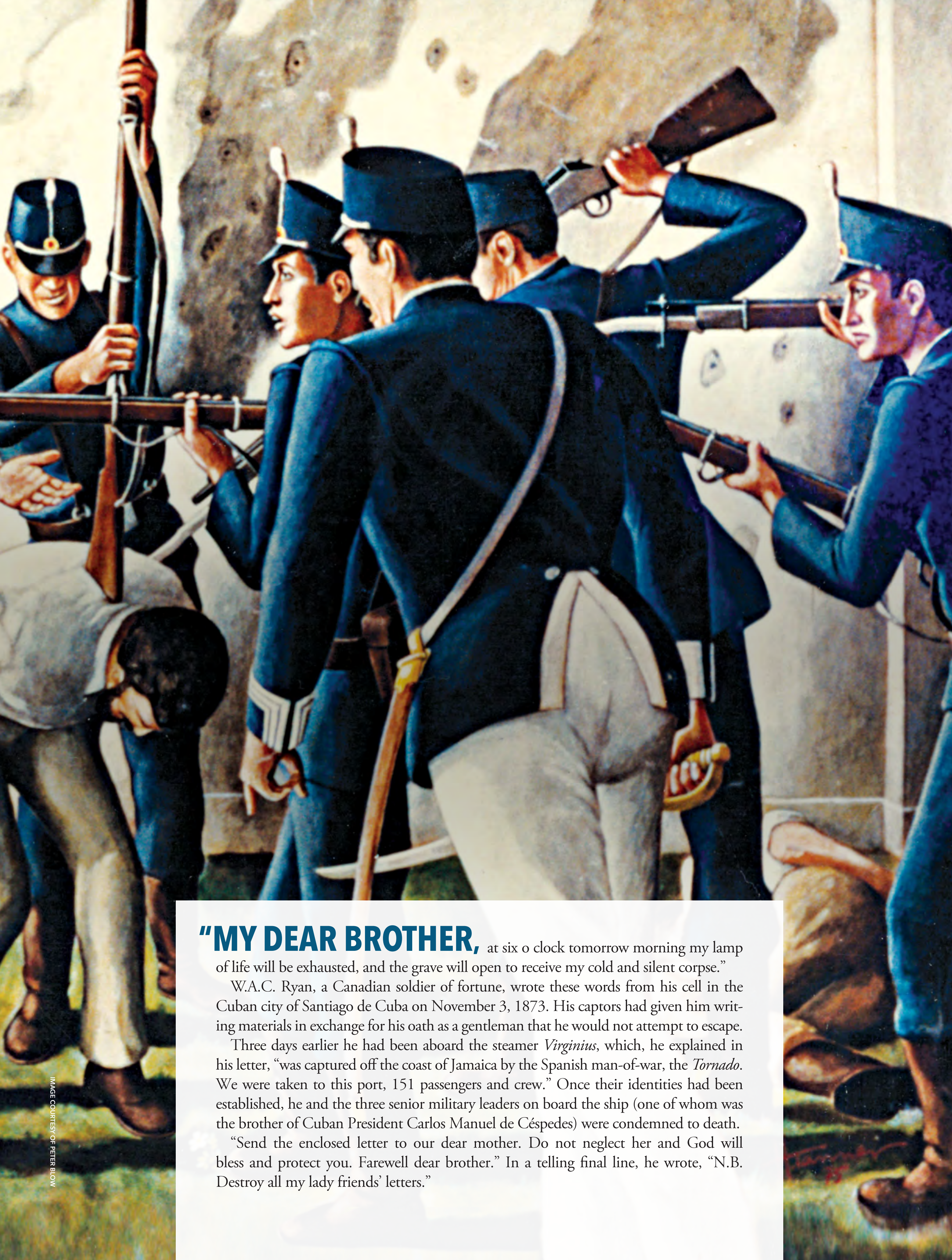


IMAGE COURTESY OF PETER BLOW

“MY DEAR BROTHER, at six o clock tomorrow morning my lamp of life will be exhausted, and the grave will open to receive my cold and silent corpse.”

W.A.C. Ryan, a Canadian soldier of fortune, wrote these words from his cell in the Cuban city of Santiago de Cuba on November 3, 1873. His captors had given him writing materials in exchange for his oath as a gentleman that he would not attempt to escape.

Three days earlier he had been aboard the steamer *Virginius*, which, he explained in his letter, “was captured off the coast of Jamaica by the Spanish man-of-war, the *Tornado*. We were taken to this port, 151 passengers and crew.” Once their identities had been established, he and the three senior military leaders on board the ship (one of whom was the brother of Cuban President Carlos Manuel de Céspedes) were condemned to death.

“Send the enclosed letter to our dear mother. Do not neglect her and God will bless and protect you. Farewell dear brother.” In a telling final line, he wrote, “N.B. Destroy all my lady friends’ letters.”

The "*Virginius* incident" very nearly provoked the United States and Britain into declaring war against Spain, and yet the remarkable story of W.A.C. Ryan — the Cuban Martyr, as he was then known — has slipped through the cracks of history. The *Virginius* was actually a blockade runner, carrying enough men and munitions to potentially swing the continuing rebellion in favour of the insurgent Cubans.

Few Canadians are likely aware that during the nineteenth century this dashing Irish Canadian's heroic adventures and derring-do captivated the attention of the American continent, with newspapers covering his incredible exploits in great detail right up to the time of his death. Only recently have efforts been made to restore his memory in Canada, largely through the work of the Canadian Embassy in Havana, Cuba.

Much of what we know about Ryan stems from an anonymous 1876 biography, *The Life and Adventures of W.A.C. Ryan*. It was published (and almost certainly authored) by his older brother, John Ryan. Regrettably for researchers, John's main motivation was to mythologize his brother.

W.A.C. Ryan cut a dashing figure in his military-style clothing.

IMAGE COURTESY OF PETER BLOW

William Albert Charles (W.A.C.) Ryan — who was often referred to as "Whack," both by the newspapers of the time and by his friends — played a major role in Cuba's ten-year war of independence from Spain. The war, which took place from 1868 to 1878, came about as a direct result of the abolition of slavery in the United States and was the first of three Cuban independence conflicts in the late-nineteenth century.

Cuba's first rebel congress declared total abolition of slavery, and thousands of slaves joined the rebels to fight for their freedom. The Cubans also hoped that by ending slavery their country would be allowed into the union of the United States and would thus be protected from the brutal totalitarian oppression of Spanish military rule.

For a brief time, Ryan's tight little band of Fenian adventurers, Creoles, and freed slaves was the pride of the Cuban patriot army. The Cubans knew him as Brigadier General Washington Alberto Claudio Ryan. The Spanish called him "diablo," or the devil. Ryan had many faces.

He was born in Toronto on March 28, 1843, two years after his parents and paternal grandparents emigrated to Canada to escape the sectarian prejudices of old Ireland. His Roman Catholic grandfather had fought with distinction in the Irish 5th Dragoon Guards against the mighty Napoleon in the Spanish Peninsular Wars, and Ryan's Protestant grandmother had served as the regiment's paymaster. She actually gave birth to his father on the battlefield at Salamanca, Spain. Young Ryan likely ate up their blazing war stories along with his oatmeal.

His grandmother's maiden name, incidentally, was Paine. She was closely related to the legendary English-born radical, Thomas Paine, author of *Rights of Man*, which defended the French Revolution and heralded modern democracy.

Ryan was only six years old when his father and grandfather died at the height of the great typhus epidemic that swept through Toronto in 1849. At fourteen, to augment the meagre family income, Ryan found work as a store clerk. The next year his life took a dramatic turn when his brother John beat their drunken, abusive stepfather senseless with an iron poker. The brothers fled to the United States, where they parted at the border and ended up fighting on opposite sides in the American Civil War.

Whack enlisted in the Union army while his brother John joined the Confederates. (John became such a rabid sympathizer of the Southern cause that, after the surrender, he spent four months in a Washington jail as a prime suspect in the assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln.)

"Whack" Ryan was described as "one of the most adroit scouts in the Union army" in a report published in the *New York Herald* on June 24, 1869. He was said to have operated an important network of African-American spies behind the Confederate lines and to have many times faced death and evaded capture through his mastery of disguise. However, his official service file in the U.S. Library of Congress contains nothing to support this claim, except for two fascinating letters Ryan wrote as an eighteen-year-old second lieutenant pleading for authorization to raise a company of freed slaves for the North Carolina Volunteer Infantry.

Ryan fought in only one major Civil War battle, the Second

Battle of New Bern. He was called the "bravest of the brave" in the dispatches that followed the February 3, 1864, conflict and earned a citation for his courage under fire. He was seriously wounded in his left leg and hip joint, injuries that led directly to his court martial and dishonourable discharge.

Ryan was so disgusted by the deplorable hospital conditions where he convalesced that he wrote a scathing exposé in a letter published in the *New York Mercury*, accusing his superior officer (the surgeon in charge) of incompetence. The rash, impetuous act resulted in him limping home to Canada in disgrace, with his military dreams shattered. Thus, both Ryan brothers emerged from the Civil War as troublemakers of the first order.

After the war, Ryan surfaced again in New York, just as the Fenian excitement was reaching fever pitch. The Fenian Brotherhood was a group devoted to freeing Ireland from British rule, by whatever means necessary — a nineteenth-century forerunner to the Irish Republican Army. In June 1866, American Fenians recruited twenty-five thousand Irish veterans of the U.S. Civil War and invaded Canada, intending to offer Canada back to Britain in exchange for Ireland's independence.

According to John Ryan's biography, the Fenians offered his brother, W.A.C. Ryan, a command in their army, but he turned them down. He told the Fenian congregation at a rowdy public meeting that, until the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland united under one banner, any such plan to "throw off the yoke of British thraldom was futile, aye, and would probably prove disastrous." How could he say otherwise, given his family background and knowing that he would be facing his Canadian friends down the barrel of a gun? The large majority of Irish Canadians were opposed to Fenian violence.

CUBA, KNOWN THEN AS THE "JEWEL OF THE ANTILLES," WAS THE RICHEST REMAINING COLONY FROM SPAIN'S ONCE VAST SOUTH AMERICAN EMPIRE.

The cause of Cuba's freedom proved much more to his liking. Cuba, known then as the "jewel of the Antilles," was the richest and the last-remaining colony from Spain's once vast South American empire. Spain was brutally determined to maintain possession of the island and to uphold slavery. Twenty thousand Spanish troops were sent to quell a rebellion. Fifty thousand Spanish-born planters formed the Voluntarios, a paramilitary force whose subsequent actions would best be described as "ethnic cleansing." Fifty Spanish warships tightened the noose around the Cuban coast.

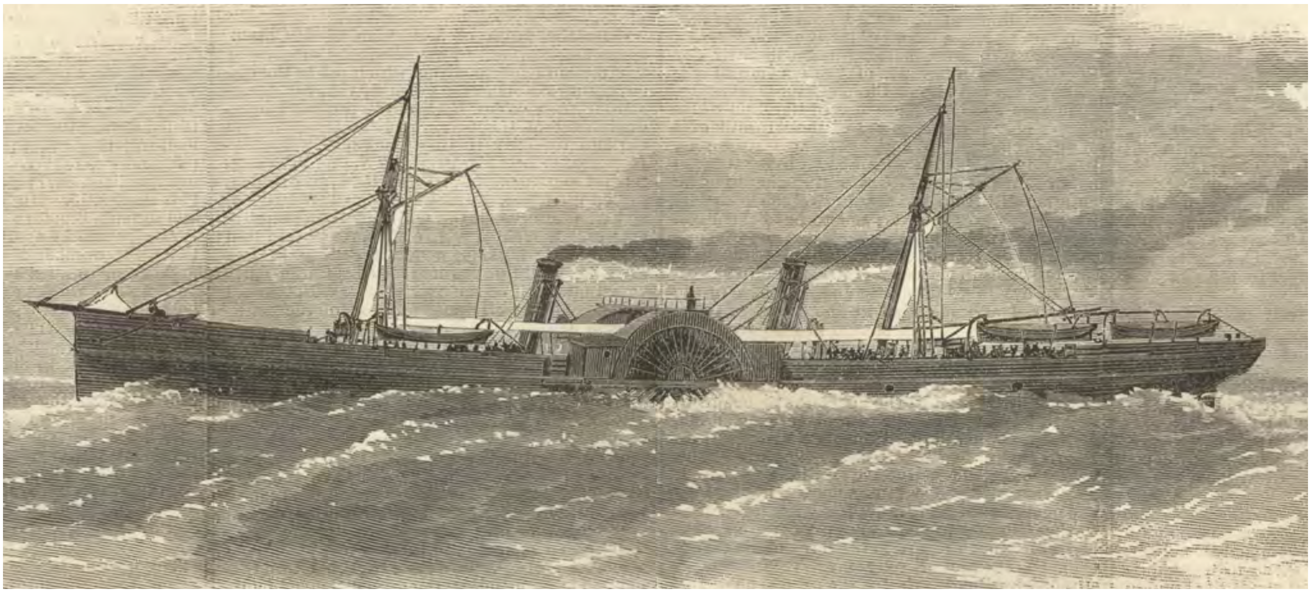
When exiled Cuban leaders came to New York, they found a sympathetic audience. Many Americans identified with the Cubans' struggle for independence and with their efforts to end slavery. W.A.C. Ryan became one of the first North Americans to offer his sword for the Cuban cause. In May 1869, he began raising his own force — the First Regiment of New York Cavalry Cuban Liberators — recruiting from the same pool of rambunctious Fenians that had recently returned from abortive raids on Canada. According to advertisements in the press, the pay was thirty dollars in gold a month, plus a five-hundred-dollar bonus at the end of the year. The money came from the wealthy sugar planters in exile but also through donations from Cuban workers — mostly cigar-makers — eleven thousand of whom lived in New York alone.

On June 16, 1869, the eve of his regiment's departure, Ryan was arrested by order of U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant for breach of American neutrality laws, and he was twice denied bail. The Grant administration threw its support behind Spain, rather than risking being pulled into another war. The Americans preferred order over anarchy and hoped there would come a time when it would be possible to purchase Cuba from Spain.

The American authorities couldn't hold Ryan for long. He made a daring escape while being taken from the courthouse to the jail, tricking the deputy marshal who was escorting him. The pair stopped at the hotel where Ryan had been staying, supposedly so that he could change into clean underwear. Once there, Ryan lured the unsuspecting deputy into the saloon, where he'd arranged for some of his Irish cronies to be drinking. Throwing them a fifty-dollar bill (Ryan was in charge of the purse strings for the planned expedition) he told them to take care of the deputy, who was promptly overcome and stashed in a broom closet.

Police turned Manhattan upside-down in a desperate effort to find Ryan and to return him to jail. Ryan remained out of sight until the night of June 26, when he somehow managed to put on a series of disguises — as a priest, a policeman, a sailor, and an African-American delivery driver — and brazenly walked through the ranks of private Pinkerton agents (hired by the Spanish consul), city police officers, and federal Secret Service agents. He then brilliantly masterminded the safe departure of 1,600 members of his regiment on board a tugboat.

The tugboat steamed down Long Island Sound to meet with the rebels' ocean-going steamer, the *Catharine Whiting*, only to discover that the vessel had been seized by a U.S. revenue cutter (an armed customs ship), the *McCulloch*. The U.S. Navy and all federal vessels were put on high alert to stop him. Ryan had no choice but to land his Liberators on Gardiners Island, just off Long Island, where they subsisted for twenty-two days by digging for clams and chasing crabs. The Liberators finally surrendered to an invading platoon of marines. The only shots fired were aimed at Ryan, who evaded capture by hiding in the bowels



Above: The *Virginius* at sea. Opposite page: Cuban patriots are executed following the capture of the *Virginius* in fall 1873.

of a cave where he had previously enjoyed trysts with the local landowner's daughter. How he made his way back to Canada is not known, but he surfaced ten days later in Niagara Falls, Ontario, when he set up headquarters at the Clifton House Hotel.

Ryan finally sailed for Cuba out of Halifax on January 4, 1870. In a note to his brother, he described his landing in Cuba's Bay of Nuevitas. "We are right between two Spanish forts, and all around rise into the sky masts of their war vessels. Things are ticklish. However, we are prepared for a fight."

He ended the letter in typically insouciant fashion: "When we left Canada it was bitter winter, here it is delightful summer. Well, I must say adieu, I will write again soon, if I don't lose my scalp. Affectionately W.A.C.R."

For the next six months, Ryan's headquarters was in his saddle. He formed and trained the cavalry of Camaguey province, fought a brutal guerrilla war, and led the charge in thirty-three pitched battles. In a letter to John dated July 5, 1870, he provided one of his many stirring accounts: "With our reins between our teeth and pistol and sabre in hand, we dashed our way through a perfect hell of fire. How we got through it is a mystery to me. But we did it. One Spanish Dragoon literally lifted me out of the saddle. I caught the point of his blade in the hilt of my sword and saved myself. It was the first time I ever was unhorsed by the enemy." Ryan said any one of his troopers was worth twenty-five of the enemy.

The rainy season brought the fighting to a temporary standstill in late summer, and Ryan was sent back to the United States to lead the campaign in Washington that was seeking official recognition for the rebel government. Although he was arrested on outstanding charges of breaching neutrality laws, he was soon released on bail, and none of the charges appear to have stuck. The Cuban exiles seemed to have learned their lesson, and no more expeditions sailed from the United States.

With Ryan's predilection for flamboyant Spanish costume, long blond hair, dashing good looks, and a cavalry officer's bearing, American society belles were drawn to him like moths to a flame. But in truth Ryan was drifting. Over the next three years, he commanded at least four unsuccessful expeditions, attempting to smuggle men and arms through the Spanish blockade into Cuba.

He was even accused of cowardice following his refusal to land on one occasion. His steam yacht, the *Fannie*, got stuck on a reef in plain view of the Cuban shoreline. Ryan's rebel party was massacred as it landed on the beach, so Ryan took his chances by rowing back to Jamaica in an open boat with the ship's crew.

In New York, Ryan had made enemies by clashing over the conservative policies of the exiles' leader, Miguel Aldama, who had been the wealthiest Cuban sugar plantation owner before the war. In 1869, Aldama had dashed Ryan's plans to dynamite thirty gunboats as they were leaving the Brooklyn Navy Yard for delivery to the Spanish. Ryan remained steadfast in supporting Cubans calling for self-determination, from cigar workers in New York to his friends among the patriot forces.

During Ryan's absence from New York, Aldama held secret meetings with the Spanish, trying to win for Cuba an arrangement similar to the one Canada enjoyed with Great Britain. The Spanish mocked him. Aldama even supported the right-wing proposal to allow neutral Cuban sugar planters the right to keep their slaves if they would only support the rebellion. After the failed landing of the *Fannie*, Aldama jumped on the charge of cowardice, and Ryan was fired.

John Ryan's biography includes a letter W.A.C. Ryan wrote to Aldama, in which he pleads to be allowed to join the *Virginius* expedition and offering his services for free. The *Chicago Times* reported that Ryan was to receive the astonishing sum of $20,000 should he successfully evade the Spanish blockade and land both the men and the arms that were aboard the *Virginius*.

Whatever his pay, this was Ryan's chance for redemption.

IMAGES COURTESY OF PETER BLOW

With Washington's rigorous enforcement of U.S. neutrality laws still in effect, Ryan sailed with the *Virginius* out of Kingston, Jamaica, on October 30, 1873. After a thrilling ten-hour naval chase, his ship was captured off Jamaica in neutral waters. She was flying the American flag, but no matter. She was towed back to Santiago de Cuba. The following morning, as the pale dawn fingered its way into his cell on the last day of his life, Ryan calmly finished writing his letters, and then he made out his will.

According to the depositions of the *Virginius*'s survivors, a kindly Spanish priest heard Ryan's confession, and, being unable to comprehend a word of English, the good priest fetched him a pack of his favourite cigarillos. Ryan is said to have torn off the silver foil wrapper and to have fashioned a large silver star, which he pinned over his heart, explaining to the priest how the Spanish were wretched marksmen. As the footsteps of his executioners were heard in the passageway outside his cell, Ryan reportedly called out to prisoners in the neighbouring cells: "I guess it's death this time. Goodbye boys, and good luck!"

JUST BEFORE THE BULLETS FOUND THEIR MARKS, THE PATRIOTS CRIED "VIVA CUBA LIBRE!"

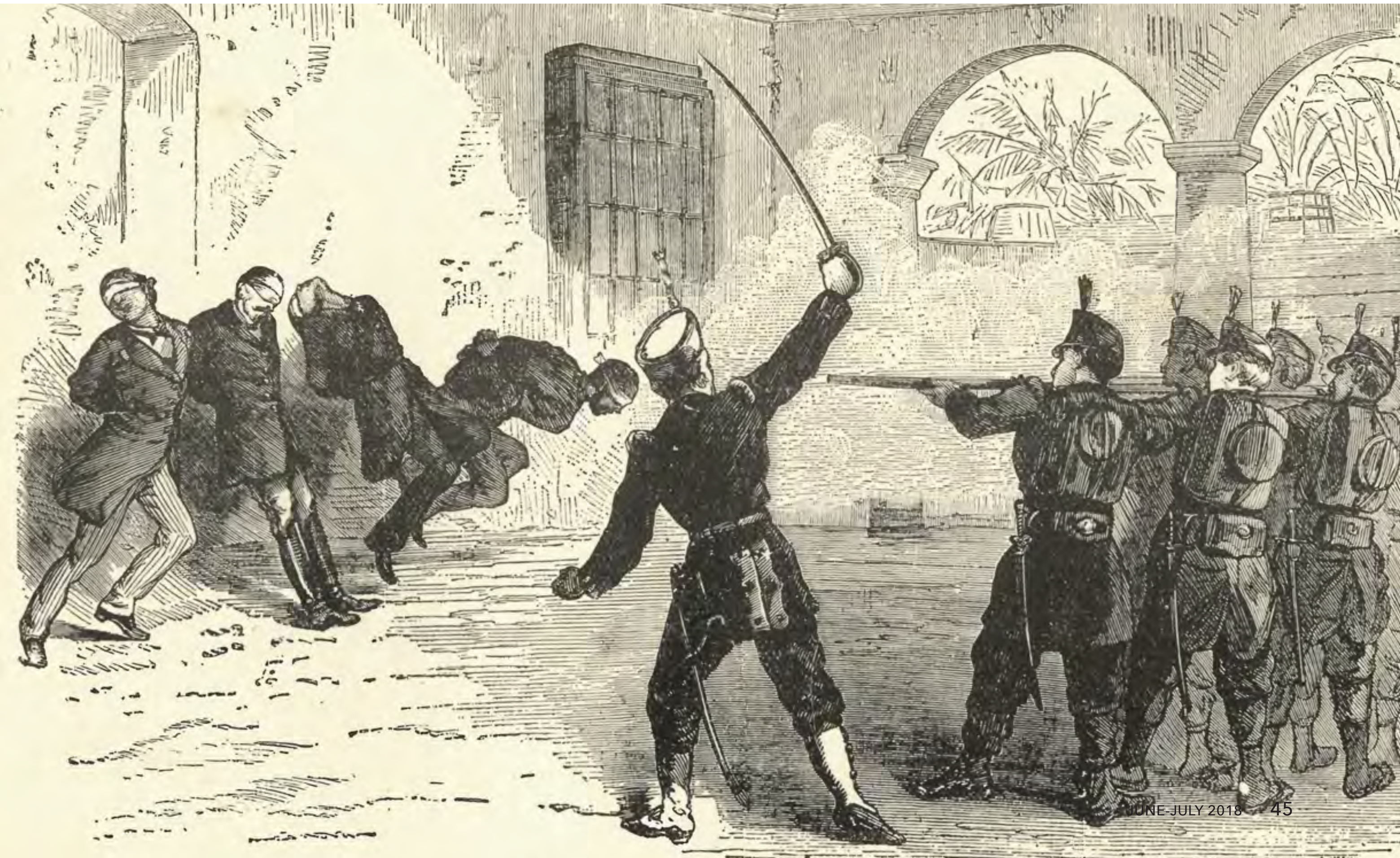
Outside, the church bells rang out in discordant triumph. Drummers beat a solemn death march as Ryan and the three Cuban generals were taken to the place of execution behind the town's slaughterhouse. An American eyewitness, a sailor named Francis Coffin, stood in the huge crowd. "Ryan was calmly puffing on his cigar," Coffin later told the New York press. "He showed more grit and courage than one would have thought possible. A person would have imagined he was going to his wedding instead of his death."

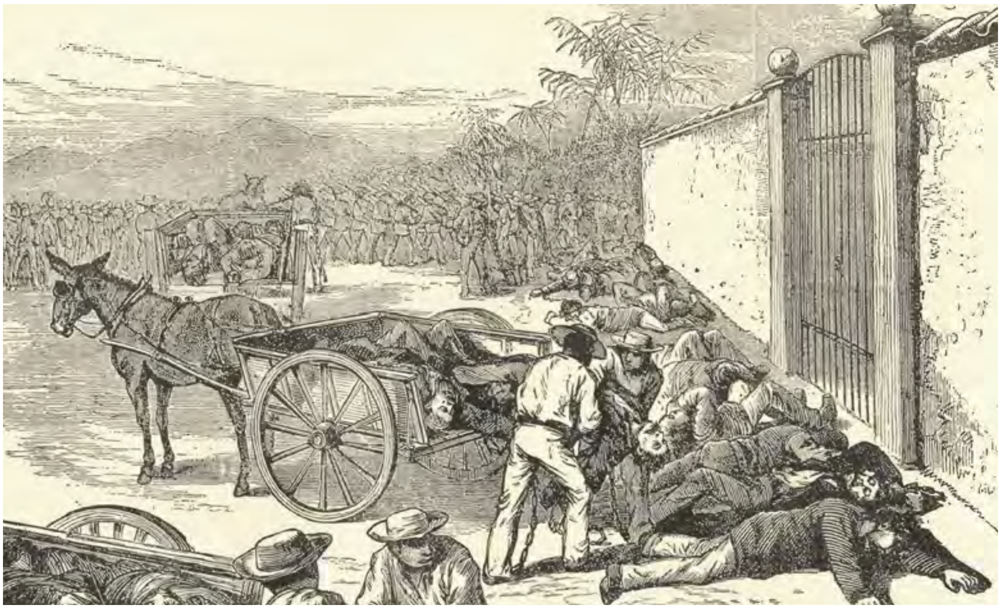
The first to die were the two patriot generals, Pedro Céspedes and Jesus del Sol. They were blindfolded and forced to their knees, facing the slaughterhouse wall. Just before the bullets found their marks, the patriots cried, "Viva Cuba libre!"

W.A.C. Ryan and General Bernabé Varona were next. Ryan angrily refused a blindfold, and also refused to kneel. As the firing squad took aim, he faced them, whistling contemptuously, "Shoo, fly; don't bother me."

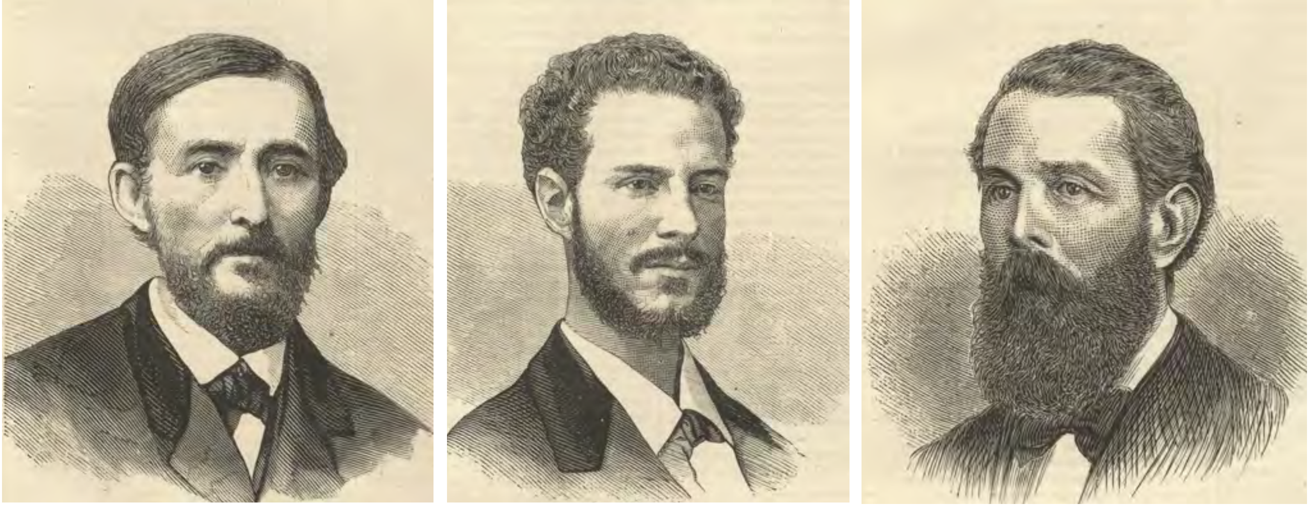
Ryan was proven right about the lamentable quality of Spanish marksmanship. "When they found him, he wasn't dead," a second American eyewitness named George Sherman later told the *New York Sun*. "The officer plunged his sword into Ryan's body. After this, a number of cavalrymen came to the spot and rode their horses over the bleeding corpses till they were in an almost unrecognizable state. The four heads were cut off and placed on poles and carried around by the people in triumph."

Seventy-two hours after Ryan's execution, the American captain





Top: After the shooting of the crew of the *Virginius*, chain-gang members tumble the dead bodies into mule-carts.



Below, left to right: W.A.C. Ryan's Cuban comrades, General Jesus Del Sol, General Bernabé Varona, and General Pedro Céspedes.

of the *Virginius*, Joseph Fry, and thirty-six crew members — mostly American and British citizens — were also marched to the slaughterhouse wall. Twenty-four hours later, a dozen more prisoners met the same fate. Further executions were only averted by the timely intervention of a British warship, the HMS *Niobe*, whose commander, Sir Lambert Lorraine, threatened to bombard the city if the killing was not immediately halted.

In a desperate bid to avert the American public's frenzied demands for war, the Grant administration argued that the *Virginius* was a Cuban vessel, not American, and that Ryan was a British citizen, not a U.S. national.

Canadians in that era were always referred to as British citizens, which likely contributed to Ryan's lack of recognition in Canada. Only one small-town Canadian newspaper made a headline of the Canadian identity of the Cuban Martyr — the *St. Thomas Weekly Dispatch*, published by Ryan's uncle Patrick Burke.

In recent years, however, there have been concerted efforts to revive Ryan's memory. In 1999, Roger Paul Gilbert, formerly a Havana-based Canadian diplomat and a close associate of former Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, published a short biography of Ryan. It is included in Gilbert's book *De l'arquebuse à la bure* (From the musket to the cassock), a compilation of stories about Canadians in Cuba that was published in Quebec.

The department of Canadian studies at the University of Matanzas in Cuba was renamed in Ryan's honour. And Jean-Pierre Juneau, Canada's former ambassador to Cuba, has thrown his support behind long-standing plans to mount a memorial plaque for Ryan on the wall where he and the other *Virginius* victims were shot. "We will be happy to bring our contribution to such a project, which would also have to be discussed with the Cuban authorities," Juneau said in an email interview.

Whether Ryan actually saw himself as Canadian — or Irish, American, Cuban, or a citizen of the world — is difficult to decipher. But as Canada grows ever more diverse, and as we continue to celebrate our multicultural roots, perhaps one day this wild, swashbuckling Canadian who fought and died to overthrow tyranny and the scourge of slavery on foreign shores will be claimed — and honoured — in the land of his birth.

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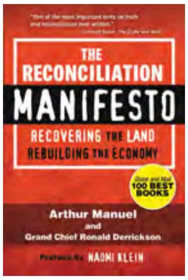

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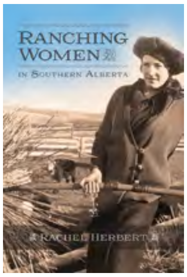

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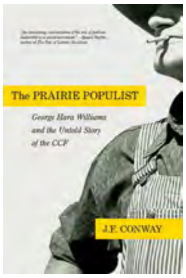

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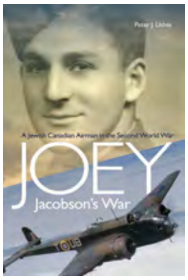

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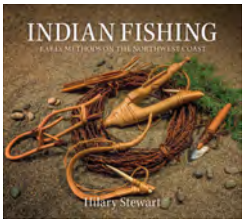

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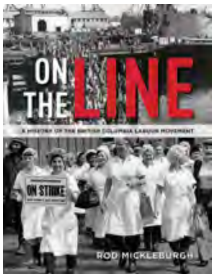

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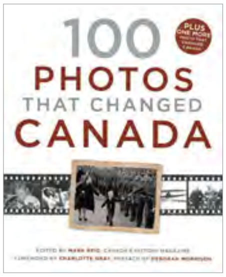

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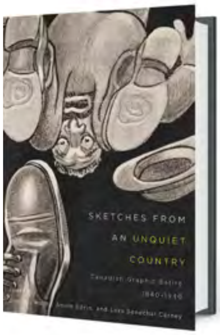
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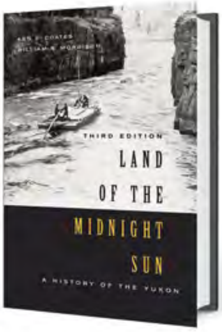
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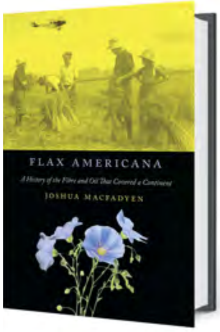
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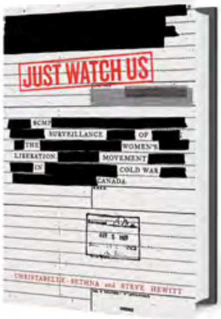
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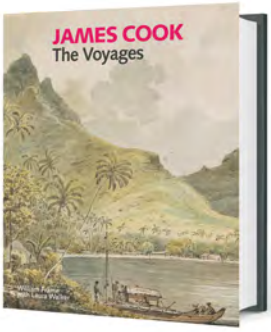
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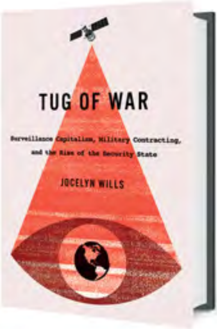
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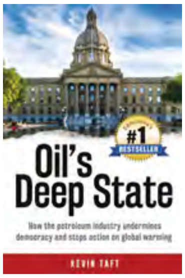

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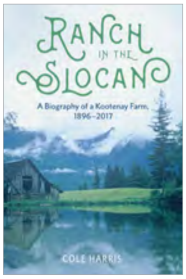

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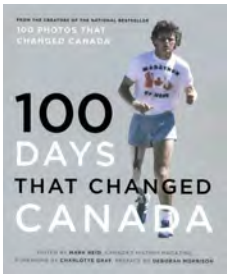

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Edited by Mark Collin Reid

Featuring stunning colour and black-and-white photographs, *100 Days That Changed Canada* is an elegant keepsake and an essential addition to every library. Contributors include Michael Bliss, Stevie Cameron, Adrienne Clarkson, Tim Cook, Charlotte Gray, Ken McGoogan, Dick Pound, Bob Rae, Peter Mansbridge, Rona Maynard, Peter C. Newman, Margaret Wente, and Brian Williams.

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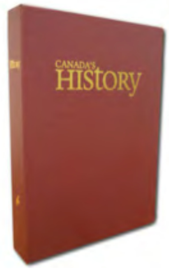

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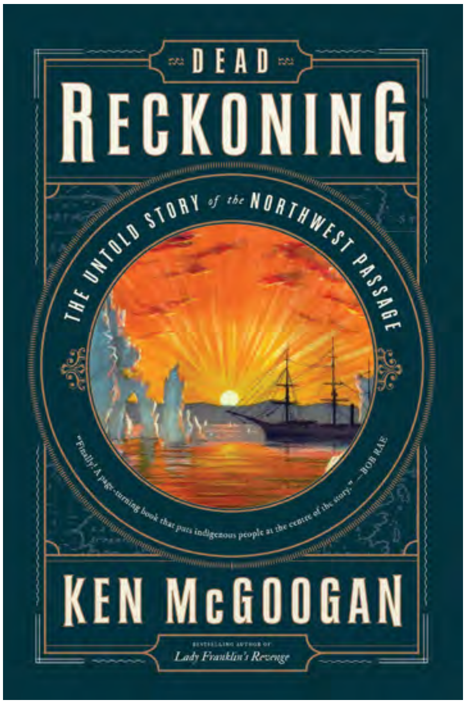
DEAD
RECKONING
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"Finally! A page-turning book that puts indigenous people at the centre of the story." —BOB RAE
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ARCTIC AFRESH

Dead Reckoning: The Untold Story of the Northwest Passage

by Ken McGoogan
Patrick Crean Editions,
430 pages, $33.99

There is no shortage of books on the exploration of the Northwest Passage, so can there really be a story left untold? Author Ken McGoogan, who has written four other books on the Arctic, believes the answer is yes.

With *Dead Reckoning*, McGoogan reconsiders the common theme — about brave explorers from Europe finding their way, slowly, through a great ice-covered mystery.

McGoogan builds a strong case for the importance of the roles played by people who were able to draw from generations of knowledge about the region. His book reflects the increasing awareness and acknowledgement of Indigenous involvement in the exploration of the North, as well as of rescue missions. Without the help of those who lived in the area, many more people would have died, and it would have taken much longer to determine the best water route through Canada's North.

For more than a century and a half, much of the attention paid to the early years of Arctic exploration has put a spotlight on Sir John Franklin, who led an ill-fated expedition in the 1840s as he searched for the Northwest Passage to the Orient.

Franklin, all of his men, and his ships disappeared — but, in the past few decades, additional evidence has been found. As a result, we now know more about the fate of the Franklin expedition.

> With recent discoveries and new ways of thinking, it's time for the history of northern exploration to be rewritten.

Parks Canada researchers found one of Franklin's ships, *Erebus*, in 2014, and the other, *Terror*, in 2016. These two ships represent true sunken treasures, because the relics they contain — possibly including human remains — might answer many remaining questions about Arctic exploration in the 1840s.

With new discoveries and new ways of thinking, the history of northern exploration needs to be rewritten. Books written a decade or more ago are out-of-date. As history is revealed, reshaped, and reconsidered, we need a fresh assessment of Franklin and the other early adventurers, including the First Peoples who made it all possible.

McGoogan's *Dead Reckoning* helps to fill that need. He draws from his past work but weaves it all together in a more complex and yet highly readable account that is enhanced with fresh insights based on new discoveries as well as more extensive research.

For too long, the conventional narrative of the Arctic has focused on European names such as Franklin, Parry, McClure, Ross, Peary — and that of John Rae, who travelled through the area in the 1850s and discovered the fate of Franklin and his men. McGoogan goes deeper into the story, introducing us to Indigenous figures such as Thanadelthur, Akaitcho, Tattenoeuck, Ebierbing, Tulugaq, and Tookoolito.

In the 1840s, Inuit saw living members of the Franklin expedition, and others later found their bodies. The information they provided to search parties led by Charles Francis Hall and Frederick Schwatka helped to uncover crucial clues about the fate of the Franklin party. More recently, information from the Inuit helped to drive the discovery of the two ships.

Lady Franklin, Sir John's wife, pushed her husband to embark on his final expedition. Later, she led the way (along with Charles Dickens) in dismissing the revelations of Rae and in denigrating his Inuit informants. As a result, Franklin's fate became a matter of great controversy in England, with plenty of misinformation tossed this way and that. McGoogan sifts through the politics for us.

Dead Reckoning is a superb work of Canadian history, and there is little to criticize. It sets a new standard and will be the starting point when considering the story of Arctic exploration from the sixteenth century onward.

Reviewed by **Dave Obee**, the publisher of the *Victoria Times Colonist* and a member of the board of Canada's History Society.

RELIEF WORKERS

Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross

by Sarah Glassford
McGill-Queen's University Press,
408 pages, $39.95

This Small Army of Women: Canadian Volunteer Nurses and the First World War

by Linda J. Quiney
UBC Press, 288 pages, $34.95

MOBILIZING
MERCY
A History of the Canadian Red Cross
SARAH GLASSFORD
THIS SMALL ARMY of WOMEN
LINDA J. QUINEY

There is a strong tradition of volunteerism in this country, and women have been the ground troops of volunteer organizations even when men ran them. This always irked feminist Nellie McClung, who before the First World War wrote of women's role in the church: "Go, labor on, good sister Anne, Abundant may thy labors be; To magnify thy brother man Is all the Lord requires of thee!" Because of that war, and thanks to women like McClung, gender roles began to shift dramatically. Two new books show times when women were able to embrace new opportunities — and times when they weren't.

In *Mobilizing Mercy*, a well-researched history of the Canadian Red Cross, social historian Sarah Glassford describes how, during the course of the 1914–18 conflict, the organization blossomed from a small committee of military and medical men in Ontario, with loose ties to a handful of inactive branches, into an active, accomplished national agency. By the end of the war, women were well represented on its central council, and it was ready to evolve alongside Canada's changing social values. This extraordinarily resilient agency then left its origins in military medicine far behind, as it moved into the provision of auxiliary health and welfare services within Canada, and then on to today's focus on global disaster relief.

Despite intermittent crises (the tainted-blood scandal of the 1990s being the worst), the Red Cross brand has remained largely unblemished as it continues its mission to "improve the lives of vulnerable people by mobilizing the power of humanity." These days, the Canadian Red Cross Society (CRCS) is the leading recipient of Canadians' disaster-relief donations, whether the disaster is a typhoon in the Philippines or the Fort McMurray wildfire in Alberta.

How did this happen? In that crucial 1914–18 period, formidable women such as Adelaide Plumptre ("a born organizer") and A.E. Gooderham in Toronto, and Montreal's Lady Julia Drummond, quietly demonstrated to the men on the Red

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Cross's executive committee that women could be more than simply "useful" to their work; they could also bring new skills and approaches to management. During this period, Red Cross leaders saw their work not as charity but as a calling, and this persisted through the Second World War.

However, during the second half of the twentieth century, there was a slow move away from crusading imagery towards the language of modern business practices and a reliance on paid professional directors. In clear and lively prose, Glassford explains how women lost status within the top ranks of the Red Cross. But their contributions to the society's programs and services remained crucial, especially in gendered activities such as hospital rotations. In Glassford's words, "Canadian women breathed life into the CRCS at the local level," as the society mobilized women's voluntary labour as a way of filling gaps in the existing systems of health-care provision. Glassford's account stops at 1970, so readers don't learn whether the leadership is more balanced today. Given the society's ability to reinvent itself in tune with Canadian society, I would be surprised if it wasn't.

Linda J. Quiney's *This Small Army of Women* has a much more modest focus: the long-buried story of nearly two thousand women from Canada and Newfoundland who signed up to be Voluntary Aid Detachment nurses, or VADs, in the First World War. Mainly middle-class, and with the bare minimum of training, these "bedside warriors" (in Quiney's phrase) ached to be sent overseas to serve alongside brothers and fiancés. The Red Cross was largely responsible for equipping, instructing, and organizing them.

One volunteer who was fired up by posters exhorting men and women to do their patriotic duty was a young Canadian woman named Doreen Gery. Her younger brother had already enlisted, and soon she was working in a military hospital in France, radiating chaste maternalism in her long-skirted grey uniform and demure white headscarf.

VADs were not welcomed by professionally trained nurses, as Gery quickly learned. Her first case in a French hospital involved a soldier who had been bayoneted and was dying because his own intestines impeded his breathing. The nursing sister barked at the VAD rookie to push the intestines back into position. When Gery protested, "I can't do it. I'd rather die," the weary and overburdened sister snapped, "Well, die then! You're of absolutely no use to me!" Gery steeled herself and got on with the job.

Quiney, a retired lecturer in British Columbia, has uncovered rich primary sources for such personal anecdotes. Although *This Small Army of Women* is flawed by some of the problems that often bedevilled VADs themselves — poor organization and no clear sense of direction — such anecdotes convey the stresses faced by VADs and the exhilaration some enjoyed in their unconventional roles. The ambulance drivers, in their goggles

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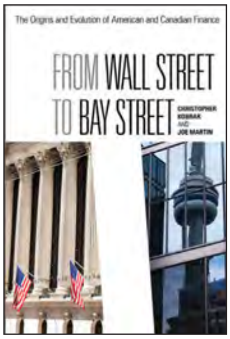
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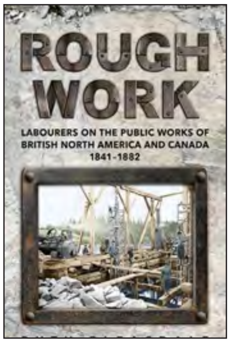
Roots of Entanglement is a direct response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's call for a better appreciation of the complexities of history in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.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Rough Work
Labourers on the Public Works of British North America and Canada, 1841–1882

by Ruth Bleasdale

This book presents a fascinating history of how capital, labour and the state came together to build the transportation infrastructure that linked colonies and united an emerging nation.

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Advancing Knowledge

and leather coats, seem to have been a particularly lively bunch.

Gery was still working in a French hospital when the war drew to a close. "We were just so tired that I don't think we could have kept going for much longer," she later remarked. For VADs like Gery, wartime bedside skills did not lead to peacetime opportunities as nurses back in Canada. The Canadian National Association of Trained Nurses continued to implement a fierce distinction between its graduates and "amateurs," and it prevented VADs from infiltrating professional ranks.

However, there were other new occupations, such as physiotherapy, to which VADs could aspire, especially as health services expanded in postwar Canada. I'm sure that within their home communities many VADs rejoined the vibrant army of Red Cross volunteers, upon whom that organization has always relied.

Reviewed by **Charlotte Gray**, the author, most recently, of *The Promise of Canada, People and Ideas That Have Shaped Our Country*.

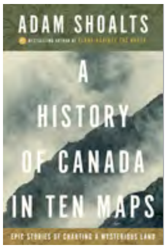
PICTURING THE LAND

A History of Canada in Ten Maps: Epic Stories of Charting a Mysterious Land

by Adam Shoalts
Allen Lane, 368 pages, $36

Mapmaker: Philip Turnor in Rupert's Land in the Age of Enlightenment

by Barbara Mitchell
University of Regina Press,
351 pages, $39.95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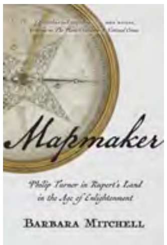
EPIC STORIES OF CHARTING A MYSTERIOUS LAND



Adam Shoalts is a well-known Canadian explorer who has documented his travels through remote landscapes via a series of popular narratives. In *A History of Canada in Ten Maps*, he draws on published primary accounts and focuses on a series of historical maps produced by early European travellers to what is now Canada. These include Vikings, early Portuguese and French explorers, British map-makers of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies, cartographers of the siege of Fort Erie of 1814, and those who mapped "Canada's heart of darkness," as he calls what was seen as the country's Arctic frontier. The stories of these European actors, their experiences, and the ten maps are presented as constituting a history of Canada.

Exploration of Canada's wide-open spaces largely defines the temporal and spatial boundaries of Shoalts's approach to Canadian history. The maps selected for attention are displayed in a full-colour bound signature at the heart of the book. Placing the maps together was a sound decision. By leafing through them sequentially, readers can trace the gradual filling out of the map of Canada from early speculative and inaccurate renderings to the much more complete and accurate cartographic representations of the nineteenth century. Viewed from the perspectives of European explorers, the book is a creditable survey of key moments in the geographical charting of the vast expanse of modern-day Canada.

Appropriately, Shoalts credits Indigenous people who greatly assisted individuals such as Samuel de Champlain and Alexander Mackenzie in their extensive travels and whose knowledge was represented in their accomplished cartography. He also acknowledges the map-making of Indigenous people but decided not to include any such examples in his book.

Covering the diverse field of Canadian history through ten maps is perhaps a very ambitious undertaking, and Shoalts claims too much when he states that explorers, voyageurs, and fur traders "created the modern Canada we know today." This generalization overlooks much of the country's history — the further and continuing roles of Indigenous people, the development of the founding francophone and anglophone settler societies, subsequent immigrants, ethnocultural communities, and many other groups that shaped the country we know today — as mapped, for example, in the *Historical Atlas of Canada*. Using Shoalts's chosen structure, another observer might have selected ten alternative maps focusing on completely different aspects of the country's history and yielding a very different book.

Somewhat problematic is his notion of wilderness, which the author describes as "the one constant throughout Canada's history." Wilderness is currently defined as "an area essentially undisturbed by human activity." The areas through which Shoalts and predecessor explorers have travelled are often very remote and challenging regions, but innumerable Indigenous predecessors successfully moved through these spaces over many generations without the advantages of modern technology. To Indigenous people, the lands where they lived were not "unspoiled wilderness" but homelands that sustained their populations through careful study and the accumulation of environmental knowledge over many generations.

Within his European or Euro-Canadian frame, Shoalts's chapters are well-chosen — with perhaps one exception. The inclusion of a chapter devoted to the siege of Fort Erie during the War of 1812 seems anomalous in an otherwise cohesive book on explorers and maps.

Author and former Trent University professor of English literature Barbara Mitchell came to her subject via a different route. Her book *Mapmaker* is not so much about maps but, as the title indicates, about a cartographer: Philip Turnor. Mitchell establishes her interest in Turnor through genealogy — she is a direct descendent of the map-maker and, like him, is descended from Orkney Scottish and Cree ancestors from the eighteenth century.

Rather than zooming in on the history of a country through the panoramic lenses of continental maps drawn by explorers at intervals over the course of centuries, Mitchell uses microfilm copies of Turnor's original journals to take a biographical approach to history. Via a succession of personal tableaux and experiences, she focuses on Turnor, his early life in Britain, his activities as a trader and map-maker, and his interactions with both Indigenous and European people as they traversed the rugged terrain of northwest Canada in the late-eighteenth century. Mitchell shows the human side of map-making through reconstructions of Turnor's daily life and of the natural and social environments in which he and his associates operated. The result is a wonderfully detailed and convincing portrait of early Canadian life in the era of Indigenous-European trade.

Mitchell's narrative also helps to explain the circumstances of Turnor's map-making; she includes a careful description of his travels and fieldwork leading up to and bearing upon the production of his first map. Besides her use of Turnor's journals, this reconstruction was pieced together through extensive primary research involving documents held in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, British archival sources, and many books and articles.

Mitchell places her subject within the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, an age of science and empirical enquiry devoted to progress through expanding knowledge of the world. She ably shows his contributions to Enlightenment ideals, as revealed in his map-making, while imaginatively using her own empirical research and inferences to draw as complete a portrait of her ancestor as the evidence permits.

These two well-written books offer an interesting contrast. With a bird's-eye perspective, Shoalts shows how the cross-continental outlines of the country were cumulatively traced in maps from the ground up. Mitchell shows how a map-maker's own life and personal interactions can transform cartographic abstractions into compelling human history.

Reviewed by **Lyle Dick**, a public historian specializing in Arctic and Canadian history. A former president of the Canadian Historical Association, he has been the principal of Lyle Dick History and Heritage since 2012.

MORE BOOKS

Rivals for Power: Ottawa and the Provinces: The Contentious History of the Canadian Federation

by Ed Whitcomb
James Lorimer and Company,
400 pages, $27.95

RIVALS FOR POWER
OTTAWA AND THE PROVINCES
ED WHITCOMB

As I write, Alberta and British Columbia are embroiled in a high-stakes jurisdictional tug-of-war with the federal government. British Columbia's NDP government is seeking to use every tool at its disposal to stop a Trans Mountain pipeline expansion that would increase the amount of Alberta oil flowing to the West Coast. Alberta, meanwhile, is threatening legislation that will turn off the fuel taps in an effort to punish its neighbour to the west. Caught in the middle is the federal government, which is trying to keep the fabric of Confederation from fraying even further.

It's a perfect time to crack open Ed Whitcomb's new book, *Rivals for Power: Ottawa and the Provinces*. The book's subtitle is "The Contentious History of the Canadian Federation" — and, as Whitcomb adeptly illustrates, the road from 1867 to now has been bumpy indeed.

As Whitcomb notes, Ottawa and the provinces have long been at loggerheads, sharing "a history replete with battles over power and money, trends towards unity or separatism, and deals struck to make this system of government work." Whitcomb brings a unique perspective to the topic, as he has worked both as an academic historian and as an analyst in the Canadian foreign service, and he has lived in four different regions of Canada.

While the book would be improved with images (there are none), Whitcomb's analysis is top-notch. In a moment of prescience, he ends *Rivals for Power* by noting that a key challenge for provincial and federal governments today will be the need to achieve economic growth while addressing environmental concerns.

"One of the more difficult problems facing governments," Whitcomb writes, "is the approval of pipelines that pass through other provinces on the way from Alberta to ocean ports. … Time will tell how long the current balance between Ottawa and the provinces will last, and what changes lie in the future." — *Mark Collin Reid*

The Raftsmen

by Ryan Barnett, with illustrations by Dmitry Bondarenko
Firefly Books, 224 pages, $24.95

THE RAFTSMEN

In 1956, a crew of four sailors, led by Henri Beaudout, and two kittens set out to cross the North Atlantic on a raft made from little more than nine telephone poles and two kilometres of rope. This extraordinary adventure, reminiscent of Thor Heyerdahl's 1947 Kon-Tiki expedition, is portrayed in Ryan Barnett's *The Raftsmen*.

Barnett, a documentary filmmaker and producer at Historica, teamed up with Canadian artist and illustrator Dmitry Bondarenko to tell this fascinating true-adventure tale. Using a blend of archival photography and artwork interwoven with narrative comics, Barnett and Bondarenko engage readers with a rich and emotionally charged account of this long-overlooked voyage.

The story begins with an ex-soldier-turned-draftsman who convinces a crew of novice sailors to brave the dangerous waters of the North Atlantic to test his theory about ocean currents. It also tells of Second World War exploits that moulded the personalities of the brave sailors who risked life and limb for the spirit of adventure and science.

The Raftsmen brings all the excitement of a television docudrama to the printed page through beautifully illustrated maps and sequentially illustrated accounts of major challenges during the voyage. This colourful and entertaining book is suitable for younger readers as well as for adults. — *James Gillespie*

(Continued on page 57)

General Banking Business Transacted
Letters Of Credit
Drafts And Money Orders Issued
Payable In Every Part Of The World
S BANK
SAVINGS BANK
DR MAYER DENTIST
CIGAR

Depositors line up outside the Home Bank at Queen and Bathurst streets in Toronto in December 1923.

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, GLOBE AND MAIL FONDS, FONDS 1266, ITEM 1787.

Q&A

Relative savings

Canadian and American banking diverged from a common origin

The new book From Wall Street to Bay Street: The Origins and Evolution of American and Canadian Finance *(University of Toronto Press) was written by Christopher Kobrak and Joe Martin, both of whom were business and financial historians at the Rotman School of Management in Toronto. Kobrak died unexpectedly in January 2017 before completing work on the manuscript. This spring we posed some questions about the book to Martin, who is also the president emeritus of Canada's History Society.*

What inspired you and your co-author to write this book?

In 2012, Chris — an American who had been teaching in Paris for over two decades — and I were putting together a comparative course on the American and Canadian financial systems for the Rotman School of Management. In 2008 there had been a credit crisis, global in scope, known as the Great Recession. We thought the course would be of interest to students looking to understand why the Canadian and American financial systems performed so differently during that recession. The course led to the book, and a contract was signed in March 2013.

Your book is groundbreaking in that it is a comparative examination of both the Canadian and American banking systems. Why was this approach important?

There is a trend toward writing comparative histories as a way of developing insights you would not otherwise develop. In the 2008 credit crisis, two of the most similar countries in the world had very different results. We asked ourselves, how was it that two nations, neighbours in North America, both with British roots, would have such different results? We also asked ourselves why and set out to find the answer. As professor Stephen Mihm from the University of Georgia has noted, "When seen in each other's reflection, the financial history[ies] of both countries look altogether different than when studied in isolation."

What role did banks play in the growth of early Canada?

If I may answer more generally, it has finally been realized that sound financial systems, which begin with public-policy decisions, enable economic growth. The financial systems of both countries, inspired by the genius of Alexander Hamilton (yes, the Hamilton of the musical that was nominated for sixteen Tony Awards), ensured that both countries had extraordinary economic growth.

It is generally known, at least among financial historians, that the charter of the Bank of Montreal, Canada's first bank, was nearly a copy of the charter of the First Bank of the United States. But, more importantly, it was a limited-liability joint-stock company — another Hamiltonian concept — with branch banking, something that was adopted by almost all commercial banks in Canada.

Canada survived the 2008 financial crisis better than the United States. Why was Canada better equipped to weather the storm?

Canada was able to weather the storm better than the United States for several reasons:

- We maintained the Hamiltonian tradition.
- In 1864, the Fathers of Confederation

ensured that Canadian banking would be a federal responsibility. The words "bank" or "banking" cannot be found in the U.S. constitution.

- In 1871, Sir Francis Hincks brought into effect a *Bank Act* in Canada with the provision, unique in the world, that there had to be regular reviews (originally every ten years, now every five) of the *Bank Act* by Parliament. This has resulted in an evolutionary system that is bought into both by the Canadian banking system and by Parliament.
- In the 1980s, when Canadian banking and trust companies went off the rails, the Canadian government created the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions, which has done an excellent job since its creation.
- The countries have totally different approaches to housing, such as non-recourse mortgages, which permit people to walk away from the loans. This type of loan is standard in the United States but not in Canada (except for Alberta and Saskatchewan).

There were other milestones, including the creation of Canada's Office of the Inspector General of Banks after the 1923 Home Bank failure, but the five reasons mentioned above are the key ones.

What lessons do you hope your readers take away from the book?

The first and most important lesson our readers can take away from the book is that history matters. When you are talking about something as important and complicated as a financial system, there are literally thousands of interactive parts; and if a wrong legislative change is made, it can have devastating effects over a long period of time.

For example, think of the closing of a bank branch in big cities like Toronto or small towns such as Lyleton, Manitoba, after the Home Bank went down. For our American readers, we hope they will learn the ongoing value of comparative research, as they did prior to the establishment of the Federal Reserve Board in 1913. For Canadian readers, we hope they will better understand just how good a financial system we have.

(Continued from page 55)

The Endless Battle: The Fall of Hong Kong and Canadian POWs in Imperial Japan

by Andy Flanagan

Goose Lane/ NBMHP, 210 pages, $18.95

The Endless Battle

Andy Flanagan's *The Endless Battle* is another excellent book published by the Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society at the University of New Brunswick.

The book is structured around diary entries and stories from the author's father, James Andrew Flanagan, who enlisted as a member of the Royal Rifles of Canada during the summer of 1940. He was captured at the Battle of Hong Kong along with others survivors from his unit on Christmas Day, 1941.

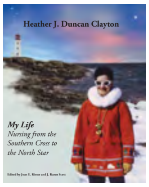
The book provides a personal look at the struggles of Canadian prisoners of war who were held captive by imperial Japan during the Second World War. During nearly four years as prisoners, the Canadians suffered from starvation rations, forced labour, disease, and beatings at the hands of their captors. In particular, the book highlights the experiences of soldiers from Flanagan's home province of New Brunswick.

Unlike many soldiers who returned home and never spoke of the trauma of war, writes Andrew Flanagan, his father "never missed an opportunity to tell the details of his horrific experience. He wanted the world to know how he and his comrades suffered." This excellent publication helps to ensure that their stories will continue to be told. — *Joel Ralph*

My Life: Nursing from the Southern Cross to the North Star

by Heather J. Duncan Clayton

Kokum Publications, 260 pages, $25


Heather J. Duncan Clayton
My Life
Nursing from the Southern Cross to the North Star

Registered nurses were in demand when Australian-born adventure seeker Heather Duncan Clayton and her two nursing friends immigrated to Canada in 1957. They first worked at a veterans hospital in Vancouver and then in Montreal, from which they departed "by train on January 21, 1960, bound for a northern adventure."

Their adventure was to include trips via Bombardiers, bush planes, canoes, and dogsleds as they went to work at Moose Factory General Hospital in northern Ontario, a two-hundred-bed tuberculosis sanatorium that had opened in 1952 to allow patients to convalesce in their own community.

That summer, Duncan travelled to the small settlement of Povungnituk, Quebec. In a newly built nursing station she conducted tuberculosis testing and did the work of a doctor, dentist, pharmacist, midwife, X-ray technician, and veterinarian. The only means of communication with the outside world was a two-way radio that worked well — except, she writes, "when the aurora borealis or northern lights were active."

Other postings took Duncan elsewhere in northern Ontario and Quebec and to parts of what is now Nunavut. There she helped to fight rubella and other epidemics with both Western and Indigenous medicines.

My Life is a love story about the land and its people. The book is amply illustrated with photographs and maps, while the recording of diseases, medicines, and technologies makes for thought-provoking reading. — *Beverley Tallon*

THE WAY IT IS
The Life of Greg Curnoe
JAMES KING
FREETHINKER
The Life and Works of Éva Circé-Côté
Andrée Lévesque

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CHRISTOPHER MOORE

ISTOCK

Infinite archives

Online data mining offers a motherlode of information for historians.

The scandal that enveloped Facebook in the spring of 2018 might also give reason to hope that there is a future for history in a digital world.

When it posted an innocent-looking app on Facebook before the 2016 American presidential election, a shadowy company named Cambridge Analytica got the social network to hand over information on as many as eighty-seven million users. That material was then processed and exploited in customized online messages carefully designed to influence voters in Donald Trump's favour. Exposure of the scandal fuelled panic over all the ways the information we give to websites and to social media can be used to abuse our privacy and our precious democracy.

But the Cambridge Analytica scandal also proves that vast amounts of digital data actually can be managed and put to use. If historians could ethically and responsibly gather and analyze floods of digital data about the recent past, that information could be a treasure trove of historical knowledge.

Recently the American Library of Congress gave up archiving Twitter; there is simply too much of it. It's the same with Facebook. A few billion users constantly updating their pages make it impossible to save snapshots of Facebook at each passing moment. So how can historians figure out how to collect and to study similarly immense digital resources. Should the digital tsunami make historians despair?

Recently I talked about "big data" with Ian Milligan, who teaches history at the University of Waterloo, an Ontario college famed for computer technology of all kinds. Milligan and his colleagues are part of an international scholarly team using a Mellon Foundation grant to explore what the "infinite archives" are going to mean for history — and for historians.

Milligan says for any historical project studying the years since 1996 Web archives are essential: They are the source

Left: The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., shown here, recently gave up archiving Twitter. Right: Researchers at the University of Waterloo are studying the "infinite archives."

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS & PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROL M. HIGHSMITH, LIGHT IMAGING PRODUCTION

material. But Web archives are vastly larger than anything stored in traditional archives. Milligan points to Geocities, a now-defunct 1990s Web hosting site that once had seven million users and at least forty million user-created pages. It could be a great source for studying the dawn of online culture and society and behaviour. But with forty million pieces, where and how does one start? That is the TMI — too much information — problem of almost any project on recent history.

Historians of big data are exploring how digital tools can be the answer as well as the problem. "Historians have to read individual documents, and it is hard to see that going away," Milligan said. "But historians have to get context for the individual documents they read: Where do they fit, how do they relate to the mass?" For digital collections too large for any human historian to read unaided, they need software that can search, sort, and apply historians' questions. Despite technical challenges and problems with unseen biases and more, Milligan says, happily, "There are cool projects underway. We get to see what tools are most useful."

Librarians and archivists are not naïve about Web materials, and they warn that traditional processes will be inadequate. "If something is in an archive, it has already passed some criteria for being chosen and archived," said Milligan. "Whereas, with Web material, that pre-selection has not happened. Web-based sources require new ways of putting material in context."

For the millions of diaries, websites, documents, statements, movements, "and whatever stuff people wanted to create" at Geocities, Milligan's team applies software. One tool makes a kind of digital index, built by borrowing from the key insight that made Google the leader in online search: page ranking. Pages to which other online pages link are presumed to be more useful, more influential, than those no one looks at. Software analysis of what linked to what in the Geocities world becomes a historian's guide to what mattered to its users. And precisely targeted key words can search out material of special interest — items the historian should read and consider.

> Historians of big data are exploring how digital tools can be the answer as well as the problem.

All this software does not write history — artificial intelligence is not yet here. But it can make it possible to try to write history using the immense and unorganized collections with which we now live.

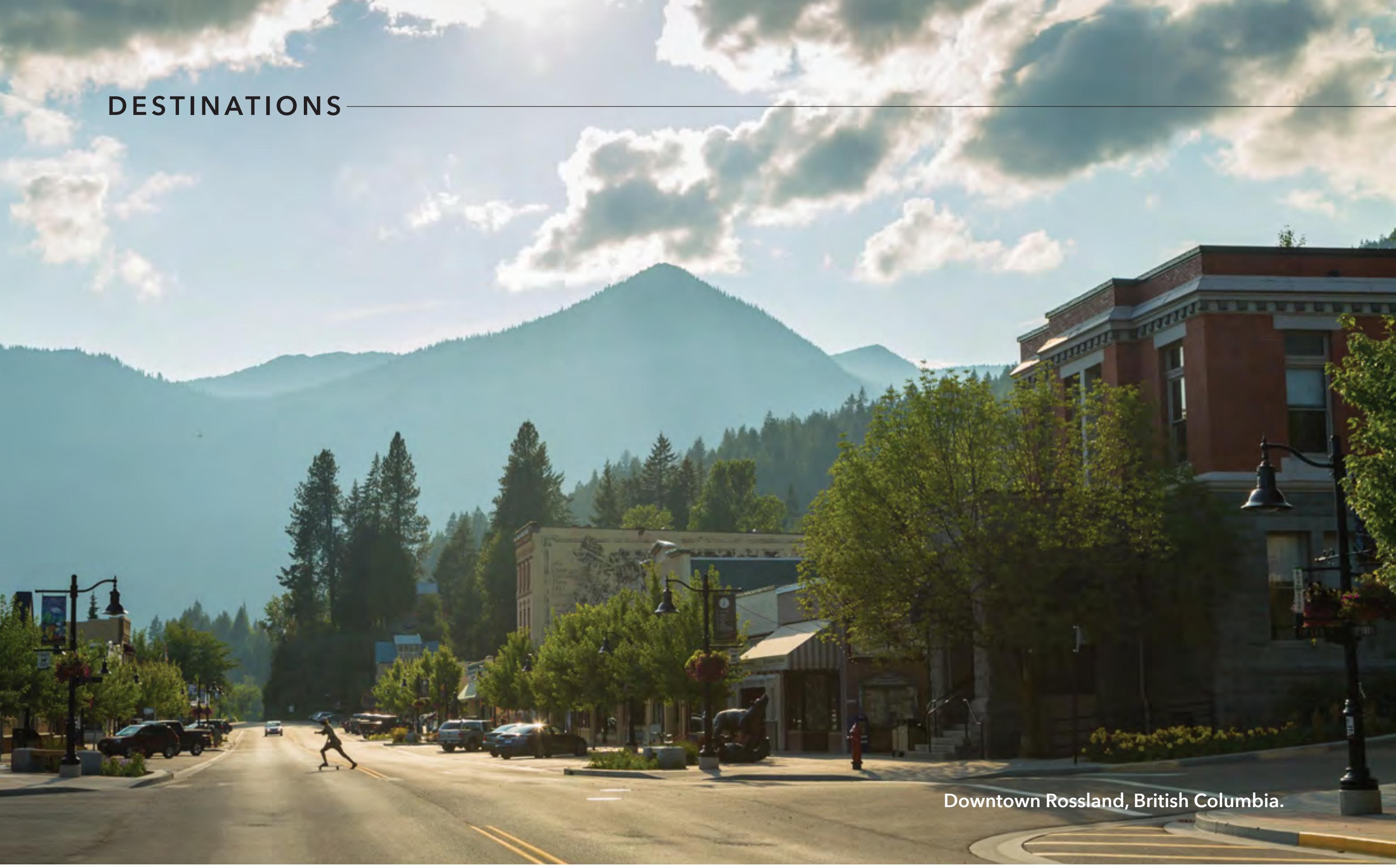
It is not just social media like Geocities that big-data historians are looking at.

"During the last Canadian federal election, we put up a repository for digital material," said Milligan. "We got tons of users — so much that the system crashed nearly every night! The users were mostly computational scientists. But they are doing outreach that might make it more accessible to students of political history." The big history of the next Canadian election may come not just from journalists riding the media bus, but also from cybersurfing historians using the tool kits computer scientists and data historians are now testing.

Older scholars who used to think microfilm readers were high-tech may be unnerved by big-data historians who say things like, "we've left behind the Apache HBase and Wayback functionality, focusing instead on the Apache Spark-based open-source platform for analyzing web archives." Um, right.

But big data history is full of promise. "If I knew what tools would let me work with a collection of old websites," said Milligan, "gradually there would be standards. Work would be shareable. We could converge development around a few general tools." And history would go on.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History*.



Downtown Rossland, British Columbia.

ROSSLAND TOURISM

Peak history

From mining to skiing, the past looms large at Red Mountain, British Columbia. *by Hans Tammemagi*

RED MOUNTAIN, ALTHOUGH SMALL IN stature — its summit is only 2,027 metres — can lay claim to being one of Canada's most historic peaks … not once, but twice.

Tucked away in southeastern British Columbia, about 120 kilometres southeast of Kelowna, Red Mountain gained initial fame from the incredibly rich network of gold and copper veins it contained. On July 2, 1890, Joe Moris and Joe Bourgeois staked the first successful gold claim. A frenzied rush ensued, for the yellow metal cast a magical spell luring thousands of prospectors.

A roistering camp, christened Sourdough Alley, sprang up beside the mountain. The camp grew from a jerry-built collection of shacks into the town of Rossland, named after Ross Thompson, a prospector who purchased 160 acres of public land in 1892 that he turned into the townsite. At its peak, Rossland boasted forty-nine saloons, seven newspapers, and an opera house. At the end of 1893 99 claims had been staked, and by 1895 the number had soared to 1,997. The rush was in full swing, and huge fortunes were scrabbled from the mountain. Rossland became known as the "Golden City," and in 1895 its population was three thousand, making it the fifth-largest community in British Columbia. By 1897, seven thousand residents were listed.

The richest mine was Le Roi (pronounced like the name Leroy). Other mines on Red Mountain included Centre Star, War Eagle, and Josie. The shafts, the first underground mines in British Columbia, included the deepest shaft in Canada at that time, which penetrated to a depth of 670 metres.

Fritz Heinze, a brilliant young American mining engineer and entrepreneur who made a fortune in Montana, was lured by Rossland's gold. Since shipping ore to distant smelters was not cost-effective, he built a smelter in nearby Trail and also a railroad to transport the ore. The new smelter poured its first gold brick in August 1897. With so much at stake, competition was fierce, and controversy and feuds were frequent. In particular, the Canadian Pacific Railway did not take kindly to its cross-Canada monopoly being challenged by Heinze, whose charter gave him railway rights in much of southern British Columbia.

The CPR wanted those rights, and a long, sometimes bitter negotiation ensued. The flamboyant Heinze felt CPR's offer was too low and suggested a game of poker to decide the price.

Finally, after rousing Rossland's Bank of Montreal manager in the middle of the night to act as arbitrator, the CPR in 1898 bought Heinze's railway and smelter for $800,000. Heinze left shortly after for Montana, where he achieved even greater triumphs. Unfortunately, he later lost his fortune on the stock market and died broke at the age of forty-two.

Mines, of course, need energy to op-

Above: An assortment of mining tools on display at the Rossland Museum and Discovery Centre.

Right: A statue in Rossland celebrates Olaus Jeldness, the Norwegian mining engineer who introduced skiing and ski jumping to the area.

erate. Headquartered in Rossland, the West Kootenay Power & Light Company harnessed the waters of Bonnington Falls and delivered electricity over the first long-distance (51.5-kilometre) high-voltage transmission line in North America. On July 15, 1898, electric lights began to shine in Rossland. Needless to say, the influx of population and the building of infrastructure had an enormous impact on the development of the West Kootenay district.

In 1906, several mines amalgamated to form the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada (Cominco), now named Teck Resources. Thus, Red Mountain was the birthplace of a major mining conglomerate that today has operations around the world.

Mines, however, are ephemeral. The extraction of gold and copper lasted from 1894 to 1929 with minor work continuing during the Depression. In 1927 and in 1929, Rossland was struck by major fires.

Although mining in Red Mountain became a memory, Cominco's smelter in nearby Trail continued to prosper with lead and zinc ores from the Sullivan Mine in Kimberley. Rossland, although diminished, continued as a bedroom community for Trail.

Red Mountain also gained fame, and made history, with a completely different commodity: snow, or "white gold." The northerly climate and steep mountain slopes, combined with an influx of Scandinavian miners, created the perfect conditions for the introduction and growth of winter sports. In 1896, Olaus Jeldness, a Norwegian mining engineer, formed the Norwegian Ski Club, introducing skiing and ski jumping to the area.

The first downhill ski championship in Canada was held on Red Mountain in 1898. Jeldness won the event and repeated as champion the following two years.

Skiing's reputation for partying received an early boost in 1898 when Jeldness hosted his legendary "tea party" on Red Mountain. Twenty-five guests climbed to the summit, where a bonfire and bountiful alcoholic refreshments awaited. The difficulty came in returning on skis in the dark. According to folklore, a doctor and an ambulance were waiting at the bottom, and few escaped without injury.

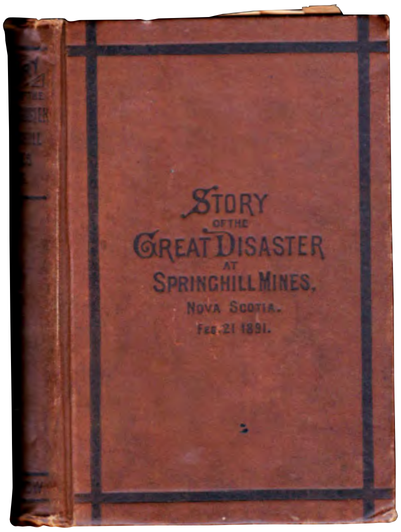
Skiing's popularity continued to grow in the region, and in the mid-1940s Canada's second chairlift was built there (the first was at Mont Tremblant, Quebec) using equipment from old mining tramlines and knowledge gained from building ore tramways. The first ride up the mountain took place on December 16, 1947.

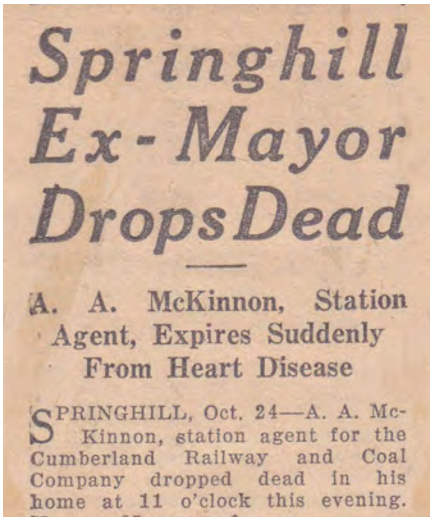
In 1968, Red Mountain hosted the first World Cup ski competition to be held in Canada. Rossland's Nancy Greene, fresh off a gold medal in the giant slalom at the Grenoble Winter Olympics, won the same event at Red Mountain.

In 1988, Red Mountain again hosted World Cup ski events. The Red Mountain Ski Club has placed more racers on the national ski team than any other Canadian club. Kerrin Lee-Gartner, another Rosslander, won the downhill gold medal in the 1992 Olympics.

Today, many skiers slalom down Red Mountain unaware of the enormous network of abandoned tunnels and shafts that lie below, or of how significantly the steep little mountain has impacted Canada's mining and skiing history.

IMAGES COURTESY OF HANS TAMMEMAGI





Springhill Ex-Mayor Drops Dead

A. A. McKinnon, Station Agent, Expires Suddenly From Heart Disease

SPRINGHILL, Oct. 24—A. A. McKinnon, station agent for the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company dropped dead in his home at 11 o'clock this evening.

Ties that bind

Recalling my family's railway history.

by Anne Elspeth Rector

The people who built the railways of early Canada did more than simply lay railway tracks — they helped to build this country. For those of us with railway workers in our family histories, their stories stretch beyond sentimental journeys, even as we look back with pride on our ancestors' industry and accomplishments.

My family's railway history courses through the lives of several McKinnon men — Allan, his son Angus Archibald, and his grandson Harold Archibald — and their respective wives, Ann, Sophia, and Emma.

Allan McKinnon left Tiree, Argyllshire, Scotland, around 1830, bound for Nova Scotia. Settling in Cape Breton, he made a home at Dunakin, Inverness, located just up the hill from the MacLean Church at Stewartdale. During a trip to Cape Breton, we met up with researcher and historian James St. Clair, who told us that Allan likely helped to rebuild the MacLean church.

St. Clair also shared land deeds that revealed more information about Allan and his wife, Ann, who was born in Port Hastings, Nova Scotia. After mortgaging their property in 1860, the couple moved to Petitcodiac, New Brunswick, appearing in the 1861 census for that region. By then, the census tells us, they had a son — my great-grandfather Angus Archibald, age one.

Allan found work as a railway labourer on Maritime tracks, including for the European and North American Railway that ran through New Brunswick and Maine.

The family moved back to Nova Scotia in the mid-1860s and by 1871 was living in New Lairg-Lansdowne area. Sadly, the family entered a period of tragedy: Daughter Flora died of brain fever in 1872, and her older brother Lauchlin, sixteen, died a year later, just two days after mother Ann had delivered a baby son. The family chose to name the new baby Lauchlin, after his older brother. Sadly, between March and August of 1880 Allan and Ann lost three more children, including young Lauchlin.

Allan worked as a section foreman on the Pictou-Truro branch of the Intercolonial Railway, supervised by Sir Sandford Fleming — the inventor of standard time. There's little doubt the men encountered each other along this eighty-three-kilometre extension of track later described by one engineer as "the finest half hundred miles of Railway in British North America." A contractor deemed it "executed in the most thorough, substantial and workmanlike manner."

By 1874 the McKinnons had settled in Springhill, Nova Scotia — a former coal-mining community that is today remembered for its multiple mining disasters.

Angus Archibald worked his way up through the mines and by 1884 had become the station master for the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company. On June 22, 1899, he married Sophia McConnell of nearby River John. The 1989 book *Springhill: Our Goodly Heritage* notes that he also became a town councillor and the mayor of Springhill.

In 1891, an explosion rocked Springhill's coal mine. R.A.H. Morrow recounted the tragedy in *The Story of the Great Disaster at Springhill Mines, Nova Scotia, Feb. 21, 1891*. He mentions how Angus frantically searched the coal mine for signs of his brother, John, who had been working in the shafts below: "Among those who went into the West slope Saturday afternoon, in search of the dead … were … A.A. McKinnon … to look for McKinnon's brother, whom they found among the dead …. The rescuing party worked heroically at the peril of their lives, some of them carrying dead bodies on their backs, and ascending and descending into and out of the pit many times …. Forty-four dead bodies and sixteen injured had been taken to the surface."

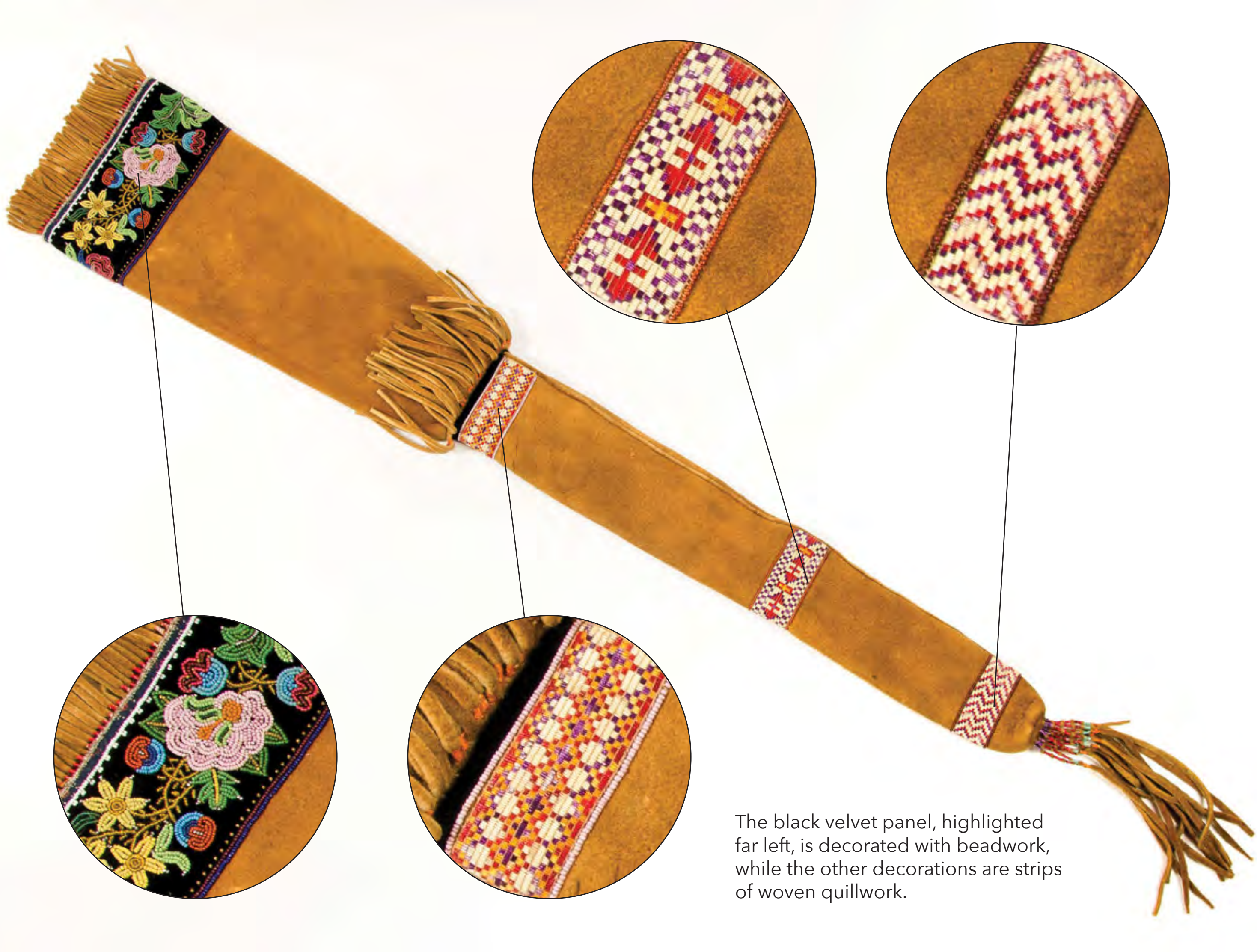
The deaths of John and Uncle Lauchlin were devastating to the family.

Late one night, arriving home after extra station duty, Angus mentioned that he was tired, opened a newspaper, and, as Sophia retrieved his glass of water, died in uniform. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees later laid a "broken-wheel" tribute in his memory. His eldest son, Harold, would continue the family tradition, working as a mechanical superintendent for the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company.

I spent the 1970s entranced by Uncle Harold's stories. Uncle Harold and Aunt Emma (née Ward) became my surrogate grandparents after my Nana, Harold's sister Emma Catherine, died in 1969 — each having held their railway contributions near to heart.

Learning about my family's railway history has taken me on a journey of discovery into Canada's past and has provided me a richer appreciation of all the railway men and women who worked so hard to help to tie this confederation together. Thank you one and all.

COURTESY ANNE ELSPETH RECTOR



The black velvet panel, highlighted far left, is decorated with beadwork, while the other decorations are strips of woven quillwork.

Gun case

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Gun cases make it easy to transport rifles and shotguns and to protect the weapons from the elements. Many traditional gun cases were made from tanned hides, and some of them were elaborately decorated. This early twentieth-century Dene case is made from smoked moose hide and combines two artistic techniques: woven quillwork and beadwork. The dyed porcupine quills were woven into geometric patterns on a loom and then wrapped around the narrower section of the case. Multicoloured glass beads in a floral design were sewn on a black velvet panel near the opening of the case, with faceted brass beads used as accents. This gun case was obtained from an unknown source by Captain Frederick H. Mayhew when he joined a Hudson's Bay Company brigade to travel up the Mackenzie River just before the First World War. Mayhew collected a number of artifacts on this journey, and his widow donated them to the HBC Museum Collection in the 1960s.

—*Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum*

ARTIFACT FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 61-127) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

From left: Young Citizens Keyshawn Sawyer (Yukon), Naiya Istvanffy (New Brunswick), and Esme Gandham (British Columbia) at the 2017 Canada's History Youth Forum in Ottawa.

BRITTANY GAWLEY

Thinking about history

Historical Thinking concepts help educators and students engage with the past. *by Janet Walker*

First introduced more than fifteen years ago by education expert Peter Seixas, the Historical Thinking Concepts — as an approach to teaching history — are now used widely in Canadian schools, textbooks, resources and curricula.

Historical thinking uses six distinct concepts that help people in going beyond dates, places, and events to think critically about our past. The concepts include:

- establishing historical significance (evaluating the importance of events and/or persons and establishing whether they reveal something relevant today);
- using primary-source evidence (such as letters, documents, and records);
- identifying continuity and change; analyzing cause and consequence;
- considering historical perspectives that reference the social, cultural, intellectual, and emotional settings of the past;
- and understanding the ethical dimensions of historical interpretations.

These concepts create a framework that helps teachers and students to think like historians.

Canada's History Society is excited to partner with the Historical Thinking Project and the Canadian Museum of History to present this year's annual Historical Thinking Summer Institute.

The intensive five-day program, to be held in Ottawa in early July, will challenge educators to improve their history teaching in order to help their students to become more competent historical thinkers.

This year marks the first time the Institute will also be presented in French, led by Catherine Duquette from L'université du Québec à Chicoutimi.

Lindsay Gibson, who is leading the English language summer institute, was a presenter at our recent National History Forum, held in Ottawa last November. The theme of the forum was "Making History Relevant."

"How do we help students really think?" asked Gibson. "How can we design a history education that students can see themselves in?" (Watch the full presentation at CanadasHistory.ca/HistoryForum.)

In conjunction with this year's Summer Institute, which is also being supported by the Department of Canadian Heritage, Canada's History will host a national gathering of history educators and teachers' associations.

It's the second consecutive summer that Canada's History has been able to bring this group together to build national level programming and to provide opportunities to share leading history education work.

Historical thinking brings life to the past and helps to make the Canadian experience more meaningful and engaging — one of our core objectives at Canada's History.

It's exciting to see the benefits of historical thinking and how this important framework changes the way we examine the Canadian experience while equipping young Canadians with the skills they will need for navigating the twenty-first century.

Janet Walker is the President & CEO of Canada's History Society.

HISTORICAL THINKING SUMMER INSTITUTE

Explain the Image

Canadian War Museum, CWM2018-0006-0017-Dm

Learn more and register at CanadasHistory.ca/HTSI
Location: Canadian Museum of History
Monday, July 9-Friday, July 13, 2018 / Register by June 1, 2018

The Historical Thinking Summer Institute is designed for teachers, curriculum developers, professional development leaders, historians, museum educators and curators who want to enhance their expertise at designing history programs, courses, units, lessons, projects, or educational resources that explicitly focus on historical thinking.

Attendees of the 2018 Historical Thinking Summer Institute will participate in a variety of activities including presentations and workshops, learning activities in the exhibitions at the Canadian Museum of History, small group discussions of readings, and guest lectures to explore six historical thinking concepts: evidence and interpretations, significance, continuity & change, cause & consequence, perspective-taking, and the ethical dimension of history.

These concepts will shape the exploration of the substantive theme of this year's HTSI "Thinking Historically about Public Commemorations." Throughout the different activities at this year's institute participants will use the six historical thinking concepts to think historically about Canada's past, present, and future.

For the first time the HTSI will be presented in both English and French. The English and French sessions will take place separately but there will be opportunities to share work and experiences between the groups.

YOUR INSTRUCTORS:

DR. LINDSAY GIBSON is an assistant professor at the University of Alberta and has worked with the Historical Thinking Project since 2008.

DR. CARLA PECK is Associate Professor of Social Studies Education in the Department of Elementary Education at the University of Alberta.

DR. CATHERINE DUQUETTE is a professor of history education at the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi.

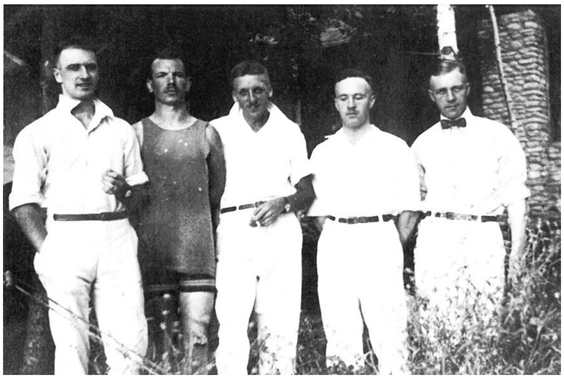
HEATHER MONTGOMERY is the Museum Education and Evaluation Specialist at the Bank of Canada Museum.

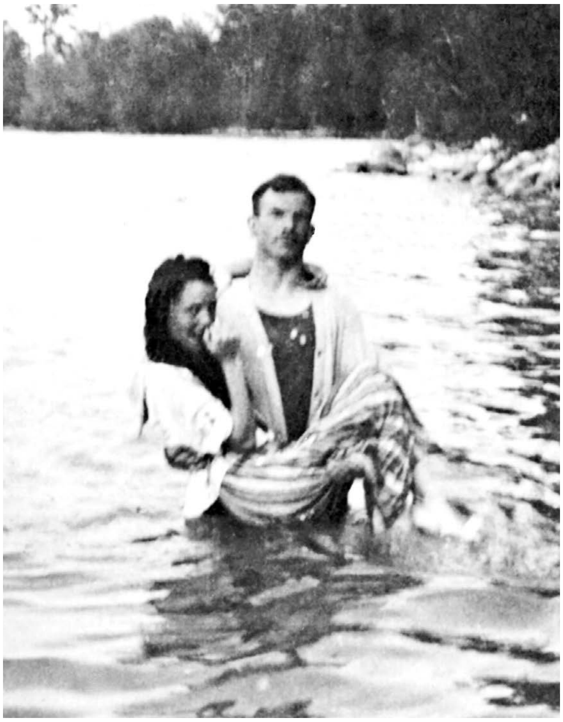
The Historical Thinking Summer Institute
is presented in partnership with:

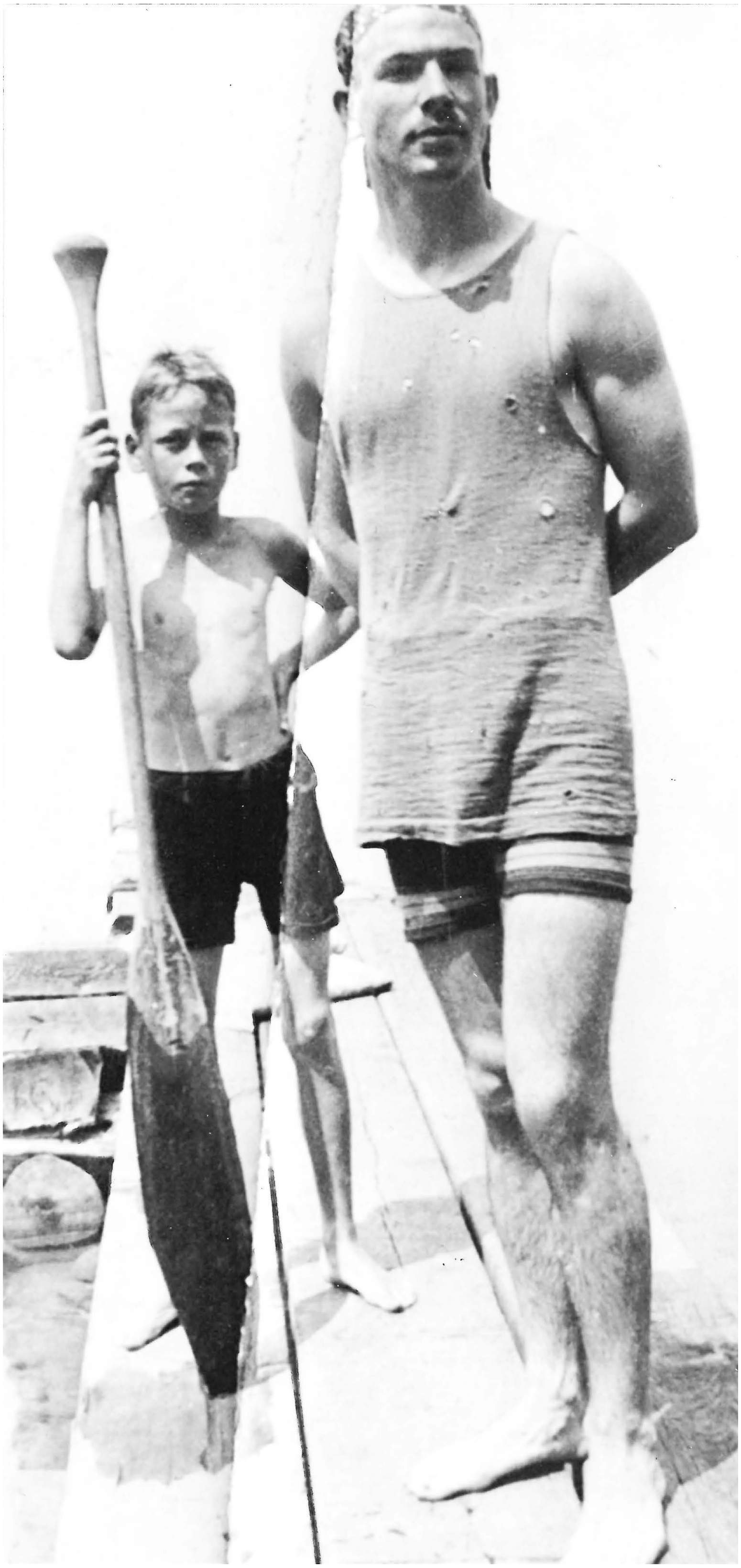
CANADA'S HISTORY

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY - MUSÉE CANADIEN DE L'HISTOIRE

Canada







Gallant rescuer

In the summer of 1916, five doctors (top) visited Cedarwyld, the summer home of the Gooch family at Big Bay Point on Ontario's Lake Simcoe. When nineteen-year-old Mildred Gooch, later my aunt, called the doctors to tea, three of them decided that she looked much too attractive and tossed her into the lake. The doctor in the moth-eaten bathing costume came to her rescue and lifted her out (above). This was Norman Bethune, a friend of the photographer, Mildred's older sister Nan. Bethune, who became famous for his medical innovations and political activism, is also seen on the dock (right) beside twelve-year-old T.H. "Bert" Gooch, who became my father.

Submitted by Patricia Robertson of Toronto.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

CANADA'S
HISTORY

Commemorate Canada's past

on an exclusive tour with Canada's History & Mark Reid

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with Paris extension

August 24–September 2, 2018

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Samonie Toonoo, *Hip-Hop Dancer*, Cape Dorset, 2007. Image: Toni Hafkenscheid.
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